

THE
ANTIQUITY
OF THE
Royal Line
OF
SCOTLAND

8430

Further Clarified and Unravel'd,
Against the Exceptions lately offer'd
by D. STILLINGFLEET,

In his vindication of the
Bishop of St. ASAPH.

By Sir George Mackenzie,
His Majesty's Advocate for the Kingdom
of SCOTLAND.

LICENCED Nov. 6. 1685. By L'Estrange.

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77 AD H E
ANNUITY

OF THE

Royal Line

OF

SCOTLAND

By the said Act of Parliament
in that behalf made

in the said Act of Parliament

in the said Act of Parliament

Bishop of St. Asaph

Printed by J. Smith, at the King's Arms
in the Strand

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Printed for J. Smith, at the King's Arms
in the Strand

TO THE
KING.

SIR,

I is not my practice to
plead any thing for your
Majesty with real, true
and full information of
some important cause, and my self
likewise convinced that I cannot
answer my own Arguments.
By this rule, when I first saw
the Bishop of St. Asaph's Book,
I took some pains to persuade
myself, that it contained no-
thing prejudicial to that right
of precedence, which is due to
your Royal Person, as the law

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

Ancient Monarchy which we know. But finding that there was no way to secure this precedence to the Royal Family, against those consequences which necessarily arise from his Possessions: I thought it my duty, at that time, to answer his Lordship's Book, as I do now Dr. Baillin's: especially, since they, in overturning the ancient settlements of the Royal Line in Scotland, destroyed of the great Foundations, whereby your Majesty's Grandfather, your Father, and your Last Recollection, have further engag'd, and encourag'd the Loyalty of this your excellent Kingdom. Wherefore, Sir, these Reverend Divines will now, I hope, hold me excus'd, in regard that I pleaded first for them, with myself,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

self, before I pleaded against them, for your Majesty: And if I could have found any man to have satisfied me, as to the inconveniences arising to the Crown in these Points, I had never printed that Book in defence of the Royal Family, and of my Native Country. But, now humbly to satisfy your Majesty as to the dangerousness of these Positions (even supposing the Authors innocent of any ill design, as I am apt to think they are) and to conclude them, how impartial I am upon any National Accusation: I beg leave to mind your Sacred Majesty, that some of our Own Historians having erred with as little ill design as they, touching the Succession of King Robert the Second: An Argument was
villipend. A 3 drawn

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Drawn from it, in favour of
Bastards, and was much boasted
of by the Enemies of the true
Royal Line, and therefore, I
did, to the satisfaction of all
indifferent men, refuse our own
Histories for that Point as, I
hope, I do now these Gentlemen
in the Points contraverted
Scarcely any thing, Sir, can be
thought inconsiderable, wherein a
Crown is concern'd; or any conse-
quence so remote, but should be
adverted to, in a Season when a
long Rebellion has so far debauch'd
the Inclinations of too many of
your Majesty's Subjects. But cer-
tainly nothing can be thought in-
considerable, which Kings and
Parliaments have judg'd suffi-
cient for establishing the prece-
dents of the Sovereignty and for
confirming the Affection and
nobis E. R. Loyalty

The Epistle Dedicatory.

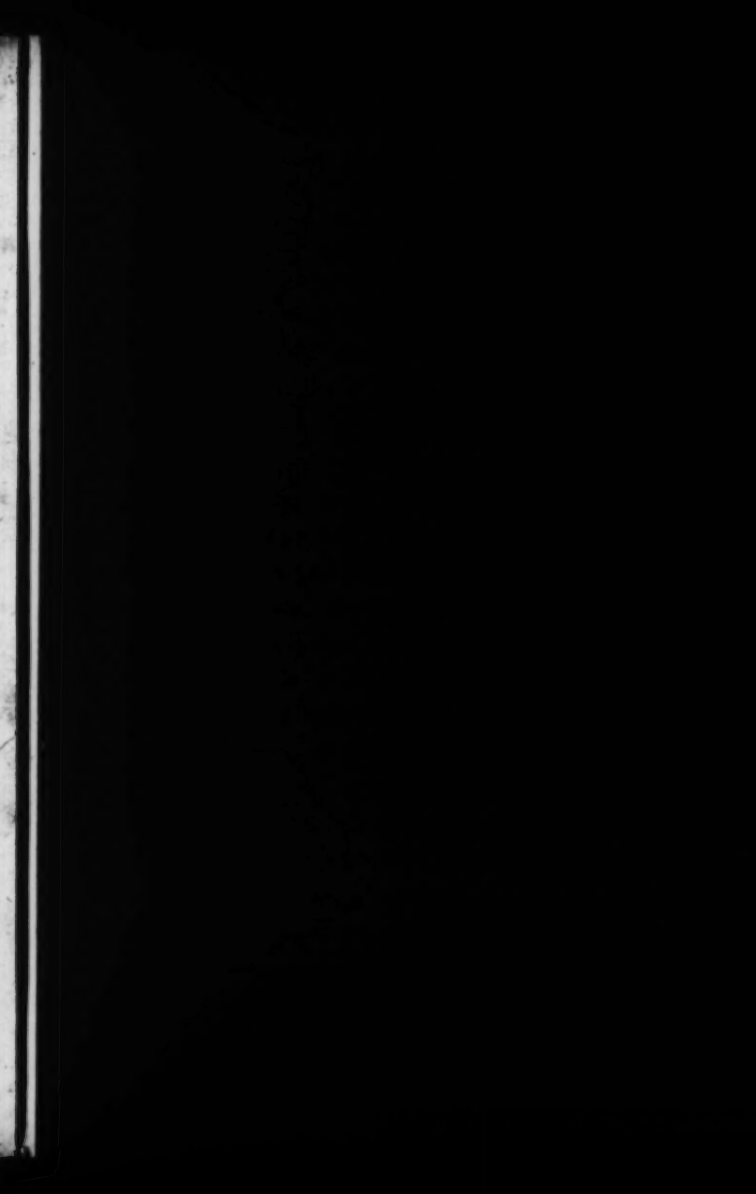
Forasmuch as the Subject. And the
Doubt of many of telling us, (in
place of all other defence) that
the Immunity of the Royal Line *Prof. pag. 2*
is not six degrees of Iaphet,
and so we borrow it, is not Je-
rusalem enough to a Subject. We
ought to stand of with genera-
tion, from the Doctor. in the *Chap. 2. pag. 267.*
same Book. Does not make him
self merry with Omlahetue, the
Allegory of this pretended Anti-
quity.

See, the agreement of Men
of different Professions, almost
at the same time, against the
Royal Line, is very remarka-
ble. Some endeavouring by their
Swearing, as it were, at that
end which lay next to them.
While others, by their Pens,
have undertaken what deroga-
tes from the glory, by topping
off

The Epistle Dedicatory.

off its remoter end; which I'm
sure lay far out of their way:
And I wish, that as your Ma-
jesty has most successfully defea-
ted the one, by your Victorious
Arms; so I may be so happy, in
your prudent Reign, as to contri-
bute somewhat to disappoint the
other, by what I have said in
vindication of its Antiquity.

Sir, The dutifull inclination
I have to serve your Majesty, is, I
confess, much heightned, by
the Royal Obligations you have
been pleased to lay upon our
Nation; not onely in your gra-
tious protection of it, but in the
glory you have added to that
Royal Family, under which we
have been so long happy. Your
Majesty owes your success (next
to that mercifull and miraculous
providence which still attends
your



The Epistle Dedicatory.

your Sacred Person and Family to your own wise Conduct, and to the great Justice of your Cause; and not to your Councils or Servants, though it is your Majesty's goodness to be as kind to them as if you did. And therefore; Sir, I am so far from valuing my self, upon any success I may, or can pretend to have, in pleading for your Majesty, either in Print, or at the Bar; that I shall still ascribe whatever advantages I may gain that way, to the Justice of your Majesty's Cause, without arrogating any part of it to my own Skill or Eloquence.

And now your Majesty having by your own Royal Influence, and the Prudence of your proper Conduct, overturn'd in so short a time all the Designs of a Rebellion, so deeply rooted; And by

The Epistle Dedicatory,

your gentleness and clemency overcome the obstinacy of your most inveterate Enemies, which is by far the more wonderful Victory, whereby contracting into one year the glories of a long Reize: I can never have the vanity to imagine your Majesty should yet any way need the mean assistance of

Sir,

Your Majesty's

most Dutiful

Loyal and Obedient

Subject and Servant,

George Mackenzie

THE

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bound to defend the Antiquity
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*The Antiquity of the Royal
Line of Scotland, further
cleared and defended
against the Exceptions lately
offered by Dr. Stillingfleet,
in his Vindication of
the Bishop of St. Asaph.*

CHAP. I.

KING James, having in his
Epistola Prioris, p. 101. found-
ed his Royal Privilege
upon King Fergus having made
himself King and Lord, as well of
the whole Land, as of the Inhabi-
tants of Scotland; and King Charles
the First, having in a Letter to his
Parliament, An. 1631. founded that
kindness, which he expected from
the Scots, upon this, that they are

their Predecessours were Sworn to maintain that Race of their Kings which he now represented, after 108 Descents: I leave it to all indifferent men, if I, as King's *Advocate*, was not in duty oblig'd to answer a Book written by the Reverend and Learned Bishop of St. *Asaph*, to prove that King *Fergus*, and 44 posteriour Kings were merely fabulous and idle inventions, since that assertion did not onely give the Iye flatly to two of our most just and learned Kings, but overturned the foundations on which they had built the duty and kindness of their Subjects: And since precedency is one of the chief glories of the Crown, and that for this, not onely Kings, but Subjects fight and debate; how could I suffer this right and privilege of our Crown to be stoln from it by this Assertion; which did expressly subtract about 830 years from their antiquity; and, in consequence, lessen'd it by other 500? for we can produce no evidences for these also, which may not be quarrel'd, if our Adversaries be allow'd to reject what is here controverted;

verted ; consequentially to which, *Ubbö Emmius* magnified by the Doctor, has brought down their Antiquity to *Kenneth* the Third: and since nothing can be answered to these grounds, which I may conclude, because Dr. *Stillingfleet* has answered nothing to them, nor to the many reasons whereby I prov'd that *Episcopacy* was no otherways concerned in this debate, than in as far as it was made a pretext for the more secure opposing our *Monarchy*: I admire how Dr. *Stillingfleet* could adventure to continue the debate, especially after a whole Parliament of zealous *Episcopal* members; (and wherein there did sit 14 *Bishops*) had unanimously, after many of them had read, and all had heard of the Bishop's Book, thought of new again, this Antiquity a solid and necessary *Basis* for their Loyalty.

All that the Doctor answers, is, That our Kings are still ancient by the *Irish* Race, and so were Kings in another place: But he should have consider'd, that the Conquest of an

ancient Kingdom brings not to the Conquerour the antiquity of those he conquers; and our Kings succeed onely to the *Irish* by the *Scotish* Kings now controverted; and if he rejects ours for want of sufficient proofs, he must by a stronger consequence reject the proofs that can be produced for them, and he does so indeed with much scorn and gayety; nor can he prove our Kings to be descended from *Fergus* the Second, if he allow not my proofs for *Fergus* the First; nay, which is more I have proved the descent of *Fergus* the Second, from the *Irish*, in their way, to be impossible, and all the Authours for this opinion to have contradicted one another: so that these two Loyal Divines toil much to prove their King to be, not onely not the most ancient, but one of the last Kings in Christendom; and are angry at me, though the King's *Advocate*, for daring to say, that this was a kind of *lese Majesty*: by which I meant onely then, a lessening and wronging of the Majesty of our common Kings, though I qualified this
Rhe-

Rhetorical expression, by adding, that I was sure the learned Bishop of *St. Asaph* had written this with a design rather to gratifie his Order, and Countrey; than Industriously to injure our Kings or us; and thus, in that matter, I have been gentler than my employment could well allow, or my present treatment does require. The Doctor being resolv'd to found every thing upon his own authority, knowing of little other help, tells us, That such as are to write in matters of Antiquity, should be extraordinarily vers'd in the best Authors, and should have a deep judgement, able to compare them together; and this being the Preface of his own *Origines Britannicæ*, *Pref. p. 3d.* may be, I am afraid, so construd, as if he would have us take his own word for his being a most learned and judicious Antiquary and Critick, for else he would not have undertaken this sublime and hard task; as also he tells us by the same art, that it was not every *Advocate* us'd to plead eloquently at the Bar, and who took citations at second-hand,

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who

who could manage so weighty matters ; making it thus great Insolency in me to grapple with him in our own History, which, a *Scotchman*, and in the *Latin* Authours, which a *Civilian* should understand best of all others; for this debate requires little other learning beside these, and the reading of some few passages in others, which I have read in the Authours themselves with as great attention as the Doctor, without taking any of my Citations at second-hand, or using them without considering first their full import, and remotest consequences, as several learned men here can prove, and will better and more convincingly appear from this debate it self; in which, beside the main positions, I hope to prove that either the Doctor has not understood so well, or at least has not used them so ingenuously as I have done.

To reflect somewhat on me, and much on our Historians, without contributing any thing else to the present debate, save what may arise from the weakning our credibility, the Doctor asserts that I should have
in

in my answer to *Buchanan's Jus Regni*, deny'd that any respect was due to arguments brought from our Histories, to prove his *Republican* Principles, and I should have decry'd our Histories as fabulous, and invented merely to sustain those Principles.

To which my Answer is, that I should be glad to find Dr. *Stillingfleet* as firm a friend to the power and interest of *Kings*, as I have been, though I think he gives no great evidence of it, in urging unnecessarily all *Buchanan's popular arguments*, with the same exactness that those do who wish them to prevail; but none can lessen the esteem of the Book here in question, without reflecting upon the famous University of *Oxford*, whose testimony I have subjoyn'd to this, and which I think the next to that of a good Conscience.

But to the point: I must remember our Readers, that *Buchanan* having urged against the absolute power of our *Kings*, that they were limited by a contract betwixt King *Fergus* and the *People*; my Answers

were, that first this Contract was deny'd, and a History may be true, though some points be foisted in upon design, else few Histories are true; and this is Dr. Heylin's Doctrine as well as mine. (2.) That *Fordon*, whom they call our first Historian, now extant, did expressly say, that *Fergus constituit se regem*; and this is clear also by the Book of *Pasley*, and I have clear'd that it could not be otherways; and if *Boethius*, has onely copied *Fordon*, and *Buchanan*, *Boethius* (as our adversaries contend) they must be all regulated by *Fordon's* Loyalty. (3.) That if *Boethius* be urg'd against us, we must consider all he says, and if so, we will find that he derives the Monarchy from *Gathelus*, and he was King without contract, before *Fergus*, whose reign I assert not there, though I use it justly against such as object that Tradition as *Argumentum ad hominem*. (4.) These Limitations being found inconsistent with the safety of King and People (as indeed all limitations are) they were repealed by express Laws in the Reign of

of King *Kenneth* the Third, and by many and clear posteriour Statutes, founded upon sad experience: And if such Limitations could be introduc'd, they could be abrogated, by express consent, and so our Kings are now freed from them. (5.) I clear that these expressions crept into our Histories by the humour which most Churchmen were in at that time, of having Kings depend on the Church, and so not *absolute*; in which our Historians are less guilty than those of other Nations, whom in friendship I will not now name. And as to the instance brought from our Histories, to prove that the People depos'd Kings; That concluded onely that the *People* were *Rebels*, but not that our *Kings* were *Limited*; but to have deny'd our Histories, in as far as they prov'd this, it concerned me ro have denyed them till *Kenneth* the Third's time, which had been very ridiculous, according to the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* own opinion, and had justly defamed my Book amongst my own Countreymen. And how should we acknowledge this to be a
pecu-

peculiar guilt in our Historians, except we deny the truth of all *English Histories* since *William the Conquerour's* time : Because they mention Limitations extorted from their Kings ; murders committed upon many of them ; and the right of Election to be stated in the people, as I have prov'd in a Letter to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, unfit to be exposed to publick view for the same Reasons, that I think the Doctor should have suppress that undutifull dis-respectfull part of his debate, against our Historians who deserve much less to be taxt than his own Friends, for their ill founded conceptions of the rights of Monarchs in those days ; and to reform which, I have been somewhat more instrumental than the Doctor. But such injurious and national Excursions as this, seem to prove to Conviction, more partiality than consideration in the Doctor, though otherways an honest and learned man in cold blood. But to shew that he is not a dis-interested Critick, I must observe, that he ingenuously confesses that he
ow'd

ow'd so much service to. so worthy *Præf. pag. 72.*
 and excellent a Friend as the Bishop
 of St. *Asaph* ; for though he adds,
 that if my Arguments would hold
 good, they would also overthrow
 several things in his late Book, yet
 this is but a mere Pretext, for no-
 thing in my Book relates any way
 to any part of that Subject which he
 treats upon, except in the second and
 fifth Chapters wherein he takes also
 my Book expressly to task in the
 same Points. And therefore I con-
 clude that if he, though a Church-
 man, thought himself concerned in
 honour to own his Friend, albeit an
 Aggressor; I as a King's Advocate
 may be more justly allow'd to own
 our Kings when attacked unjustly,
 and unnecessarily, by their own Sub-
 jects, and Beneficiaries ; And though
 it may be instanced, that the anti-
 quity of the Royal-line has been
 controverted in other Nations, yet
 it cannot be instanced that this has
 been done by Subjects, after their
 Kings and Parliaments have seriously
 founded the Loyalty of the Nation
 upon that antiquity, and the Kings
 have

have asserted that antiquity under their own hands, upon so solemn occasions, which is our case, and where the antiquity it self is not absolutely fabulous; but on the contrary, is in it self so reasonable, and is warranted by the Testimonies of contemporary Historians, and allowed by the most judicious Criticks.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

*That the Scots were placed here
before the Year 503.*

NOW without either vanity or levity, or any distracting digressions, I must put the Reader in mind that in my Book I did onely Pag. 2. undertake to prove against the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, That the *Scots* did settle in *Britain* before the Year 503. And after I had prov'd this sufficiently, by the clear and positive Testimonies which I adduced, and had made it appear by some of the same Testimonies, that we settled here before *Julius Caesar's* time, and particularly that *Reuda*, one of our Kings, was expressly acknowledged by *Beda*, one of the Authors I cite; I proceeded to prove that our Historians are to be believed as to King *Fergus*, there being onely a hundred and thirty years betwixt these two Kings. As to which, our Historians being many,
and

and men of Reputation, they ought to be believed, they having narrated nothing that is improbable, and having declared that they were sufficiently warranted so to write, by the Records delivered to them by Authority out of our ancient *Monasteries* then extant; and that *Oral Tradition*, universally received of a whole Nation, is a great Fortification of so short a step as a hundred and thirty years. And in the last part of my Book, I clear against Archbishop *Usher*, and the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, That this Countrey was called *Scotland*, and We *Scots*, before the Year 1000, a position they were driven to maintain in defence of their former Paradox.

Dr. *Stillingfleet*, without taking notice of these Points which I treated separately in the method now mentioned, would more cunningly than ingenuously, make his Reader believe that I have undertaken by every Citation and Reason to prove the truth of all the parts of our History from *Fergus* downward: and therefore when I adduce a Citation for

for proving that we were settled here before the Year 503; or that this Countrey was called *Scotland* before the Year 1000: He asks, Where is there mention in these Citations, of *Fergus*? And takes no care to consider my Citations, with relation to the particular Points for which they are produced, as in my * Citation of *Scaliger*, concerning the *Scotobrigantes*, and in my † Citation of *Claudian*, &c.

* Dr. Stillingfl.
przf. pag. 23.

† Cap. 5. p. 285.

To return then to my first Method, for the Readers fuller conviction, I must put him in mind that I did prove the first of these positions, viz. That we were settled in *Scotland* before the Year 503.

(1.) By the Authority of the *British* Historians within the Isle, (2.) By the *Roman* Historians, who could not but know us well, because that Nation fought long with us, (3.) By *Ecclesiastick* Writers and Historians, who prove that the *Scots* were acknowledged to have been a *Christian* Nation here before that time, and therefore behov'd to have been settled here, (4.) I fortifie these

these Citations by most clear Reasons, (5.) Because the import of some of these Authorities is controverted, I appeal to the best Historians and Criticks, as the most competent Judges betwixt the reverend Prelate and my self; and these I hope will be found to have asserted the truth of this my Position, and the justness of my Citations.

The first Citations I used were from *Gildas* and *Beda*, the most ancient and esteemed of all the *English* Writers: And I did begin with *Beda*, because he transcribes and explains *Gildas*; and I shall repeat the Argument as I stated it in my first Book.

The venerable *Beda*, though a *Saxon* himself, and so an Enemy to us, having written an exact Chronology according to the periods of time, does in his *first chap. de priscis Incolis*, tell us, that God was praised in five Languages in this Isle; that of the *English*, *Britons*, *Scots*, *Picts* and *Latines*; and then proceeds to tell that the *Britons* were the first Possessours, and possess the *South* parts;





parts ; After which, came the *Picts* to the *Northern* parts, and the *Scots* under *Reuda* thereafter made a third Nation in that part belonging to the *Picts*, getting the *Western* part of *Scotland*, *North* from the *Picts* called *Dumbrion* or *Alcluth*, and he inculcates their fixing here by three several, but concurring Expressions.

1. *Progressi ex Hiberniâ*, they left *Ireland*.
2. *Sedes vindicârunt in Britannîâ*, they settled in *Britain*.
3. *In Britannîâ, Britonibus & Pictis gentem tertiam addiderunt* ; they added a third Nation to the *Britons* and *Picts*, and that this was very ancient, is clear ; for he fixes them in *Britain* in that Chapter, wherein he treats *de priscis Incolis* : and having thus settled the *Scots* and *Picts*, in his *first Chapter* with the *Britons*, he proceeds in the second Chapter, to settle the fourth Nation, *viz*, the *Latines* or *Romans*, beginning with these words : *But this Britain was unknown, and not entred upon by the Romans, till Julius Cæsar's time.* And having described the Wars betwixt these three Nations and the

Roman Emperours, in a due Gradation marking every period of time, through the Reign of their consecutive Emperours: and how at last the *Romans* had abandoned the Island, and *Ætius* the *Roman Consul* had refused the Petition of the miserable *Britons*, so often defeated by the *Scots* and *Picts*: He in the fourteenth Chapter relates, how the *Britons* upon deep Consultation brought in the *Saxons*, and from thence continues the *Saxon History*. The second Argument I brought from *Beda*, was from the 5th. cap. l. 1. *Eccle. Hist.* where he says, that *Severus* built a Wall to defend against the other unconquer'd Nations, and in the 12. cap. he tells that *Britain* was vexed by the *Scots* and *Picts*; two *Over-Sea* or *Transmarine Nations*: And thereafter, as if he had been afraid, that this word *Transmarine* might have been mistaken, he adds, That they were not called *Transmarine*, because they lived and were settled out of *Britain*, but because they were separated from that part of *Britain* by the two Seas which did

did almost meet. And in this he agrees exactly with *Tacitus*, who in the life of *Agricola* says, that there being a Wall built betwixt these two Seas, the *Roman* Enemies were closed up as in an Isle.

To these Arguments the learned *C. 5. p. 284* Doctor answers first that *Beda*, in the beginning of his History, doth set down the five Nations that inhabited *Britain*, and so if the *Scots* and *Picts* be ancient, the *Romans* and *Saxons* must be ancient Inhabitants too in his Sense: for they are likewise reckoned before the War with the *Romans*, his business being to give an account of the present Inhabitants, and not merely of the ancient.

To which I reply, that this is a mere imposing upon the Reader: for *Beda*, when he names the five Nations, speaks of them in relation to the present Languages wherein God was praised within the Isle, but when he speaks of the old Inhabitants, he speaks onely of the *Britons*, *Picts* and *Scots*; and the reason why he sets not down the particular time

wherein these fixed in the Isles, as he does when he speaks of the *Romans* and *Saxons*, is because he knew the one but the other was so ancient, that the exact time of their first settlement was not known; for certainly a Chronologue would not have omitted that if he had known it. For speaking of the *Romans* settlement, he condescends upon the particular Year: But when he speaks of the settlement of the *Scots* and *Picts*, he onely saith [*Ut fertur*] as they say, a word which he could not have used here, had it not been in matters of the remotest antiquity. And if so, certainly they must be much more ancient than the 503. And the inquisitive *Beda* was not able to reach so far back in the Year 700. wanting the helps of the old Manuscripts in our Monasteries, which onely could tell him the exact time, and so he was forced to rest in the general remark of our being fixed here time out of mind even before his own age which was so near to the 503. that his own Father might have told him precisely when

when we settled, if we had not settled here till then.

The Doctor's second answer is, that *Beda* does not at all intimate that the *Scots* were in *Britain* before the *Romans* and *Saxons*. To which it is replied, that *Beda* is a Chronologue, and is carefull of the Notation of time where he knows it : And therefore it seems still to me and has done so to such as understand well Chronology, as sure a demonstration as that Science can allow, that the *Scots* being named as one of the three ancient Nations inhabiting this Isle, and their actions against the *Britons* and *Romans*, being narrated before the *Saxons* are said to have entred, that therefore their settlement must be the elder, though it be not said in express terms, and if any account of Kings, or memorable actions, were set down by a Chronologue, without adding the years, these things behov'd to be considered ancient, according to the order wherein they are express'd ; especially in this case, since the * defeat of the *Britons* by

* Ecd. L. c. 14.

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the

the *Scots* and *Picts* is made the cause of bringing in the *Saxons*; and the cause must necessarily precede the effect. In fortification of all which, we must mind, that this will agree better with the following Citations, which clear, that the *Scots* settled here before the year 404; at which time the *Saxons* entred, and that they were here before the *Romans*, is likewise clear: for after they are marked to be settled in this Isle, * *Britain* is said to be unknown to the *Romans*. And as the *Romans* are acknowledged to have been here before the *Saxons*, and so to be set down by *Beda*, before them; Why should not the *Scots* be likewise acknowledged to have been settled here before the *Romans*, since their settlement is first mentioned?

* *Verum eadem Britannia Romanis usque ad Caesarem incognita fuit.*

* *L. i. c. 3.*

The Doctor's third Answer is,
* That though *Severus's* Wall was acknowledged to be built against the unconquer'd Nations beyond it; yet it is not said, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were these unconquer'd Nations, else the controversie had been ended: But on the contrary, *Dion*,
by

by whom we may understand *Beda's* meaning, tells us, that these Nations were the *Mæatae* and *Caledonii* : To which it is reply'd, that *Beda*, in his first Chapter, mentions onely the *Scots* and *Picts*, as settled here with the *Britons*: in the second he brings in the *Romans*, and gives an account of their progress under *Julius Cæsar* : in the third under *Claudius* : in the fourth under *Marcus Antoninus* : in the fifth, under *Severus*, he mentions the building of the Wall to secure the *Roman* Conquest against the unconquer'd Nations. After which, in the 12th, he recapitulates the War betwixt the *Britons* and *Romans*, against these unconquer'd Nations, whom afterwards he still calls *Scots* and *Picts*. And again, he mentions the *Scots* and *Picts*, as the onely invaders of this Wall, built against those Nations whom he called unconquer'd, without speaking of the *Mæatae* or *Caledonii* : So that from *Beda* it is clear, that these unconquer'd Nations were the *Scots* and *Picts* ; and therefore , by Dr. *Stillingfleet's* own confession, the

controversie is at an end. And these *Mæatæ* and *Caledonii* were in effect the Scots and Picts, considered as *Highlanders* and *Lowlanders*: for *Bochart Canaan*, l. 1. 42. tells us, that *Camdenus rectè deducit Caledonios à Britannico Caled, quod durum sonat; duri enim & asperi erant incolæ, & terra etiam tota horridis & confragosis montibus attollitur. Caledoniis opponuntur Mæatæ, Camd. de Britannia Septentrionali, p. 3. Incolæ olim in Myatas & Caledonios distincti erant, id est, in campestres & montanos. Idem, p. 501. Decheumeath, i. e. planities ad austrum. And he derives *Caled* and *Meath*, from *Hebrew* and *Arabick* of the same signification. And this farther appears by comparing *Dion Cassius* cited by the Doctor, with *Claudian*; for *Dion* onely says, *Britannorum duo sunt præsertim genera, Caledonii & Mæatæ: nam cæterorum nomina ad hos ferè referuntur. Incolunt Mæatæ juxta eum murum, qui Insulam in duas partes dividit; Caledonii post illos sunt. And Claudian tells us who were these against whom the Wall was built.* Venit*

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta
Britanni,*

*Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferrôq;
notata.*

*Perlegit exanimæ Piçlo moriente
figuras.*

From which I observe, that the *Mæatæ* were in effect the *Piçts*, who dwelt in the Low Countrey nearest the Wall, and that the *Caledonii* were the *Scots* who then lived in the Hills. So that *Dion* is so far from proving that the Wall was not built against the *Scots* and *Piçts*, that he agreeth with the other Authours cited here and elsewhere, who all concur to prove, that the Wall was built against the *Scots* and *Piçts*. And the Doctor might as well conclude, that our actions done here this day, are not done by the *Scots*, because our Histories speak oft-times of the *Highlanders* and *Lowlanders*, which are the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonii*. And I do conclude, that either the Doctor is not a man to parallel Authours with Authours, or else he

is

is not of that candour I did formerly take Dr. *Stillingfleet* to be.

The Doctor's Fourth Answer is, That when *Beda* makes the *Scots* a transmarine Nation, as dwelling beyond the *Friths*, and not out of *Britain*; this is onely said in his own defence; because in his first Chapter he had settled them in *Britain*: and no more respect should be had to this, than if a *Scotish* Writer in *Beda*'s time had spoken of the *Transmarine Saxons*, using the words of an Authour who lived before their coming into *Britain*, and then should explain himself that he does not mean the *German Saxons*, but these who lived in *Britain* beyond the two *Friths*: Would this prove that the *Saxons* lived here before *Julius Cæsar*'s time? all this I confess is a piece of odd reasoning: for certainly we must either deny all Authority and reason, or confess that *Beda*, who was so ancient an Authour, and liv'd so near to *Gildas*'s time, and to our Countrey, behoved to know whether the *Scots* liv'd in *Ireland* or not: And it is not to be thought, that *Beda*

da would have written so distinctly and positively such a great and palpable Lye, merely to maintain his own Assertion: and therefore his acknowledgment, that we were settled here beyond the *Friiths*, and not in *Ireland*, proves sufficiently *quod erat probandum*; and it seems to me a descension below the gravity of so great a Doctor, to sport himself over and over upon the empty criticism of my calling this a demonstration; neither is it any wonder, that the Doctor is angry at me when I cite *Beda*: for both the Bishop of * *St. Asaph* and † he, * *Page 18.* treat *Beda* so, because what he writes † *C. 5. p. 285.* makes for us.

To *Gildas's* Authority it is answered by the || Doctor, that by || *Pref. p. 60.* these Seas must not be understood the *Friiths* of *Forth* and *Clyde*, but the Sea betwixt *Ireland* and *Scotland*; because that *Gildas* speaks still of them as carrying away their prey beyond Seas; and the passage over the *Friith* behoved to be as large as that over the Seas, being 40 miles in some places; whereas the passage
betwixt

betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is, in some places, but 13 miles. To this it is Reply'd, that the Friths are called *Mare Scoticum*, both by our Laws and the English Writers: And to these I now add their own * *Ludus*. His words are, *Bernicia verò à Tissa ad mare Scoticum, quod nunc Frith vocant*. To which the Doctor neither has, nor can make any answer. And so the word *Trans Mare* is not impropriated when it is applyed to our *mare Scoticum*: and though in some places the *Frith* of *Clyde* be so broad at the very entry to the Ocean, where it is rather Sea than River, yet many parts betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland* are much broader than the broadest part of the Friths. And the *Scots* in their *Corroughs* did not pass at the broadest part, but near the Wall at *Dunbritton*, * where they were nearest the *Picts*, and it is not a Mile broad there, and is little broader for a long tract of the River under it; and the broadest part of it is exceedingly more calm and passable than the *Irish* Sea; the one being but a River and

* Brit. Descrip.

p. 24

and within Land, and the other being a strait of the wide and open Northern Ocean, where the Sea, by how much it is straitned, becomes the more turbulent. And therefore when *Claudian* expresses our Invasions and Flights, he does it by Oars.

Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

But that of the Saxons by Sails.

—*Venturum Saxona Ventis.*

Which presupposes Sails. Nor were the Corroughs mention'd by *Cæsar* (*l. i. de bello Civili*) cited by the Doctor, made for Seas, but Rivers; as is clear by the words, *Nec pontes perfici possent*; and these *Militésque his navibus flumen transportat. Edit. Variorum 1670. & 492.* It does not therefore appear probable, or reasonable, that a whole Fleet should be made by poor Pillagers of such stuff fit to carry an Army, with its prey, over so turbulent a Sea, and in the Winter time, they having fought

and

and pillaged all the Summer, and the prey being then ordinarily either Cows or Horses, there being little else to be plundered ; and if they had passed at *Cantyre*, which is that narrow place, they behov'd to have travell'd likewise over a whole tract of ground, and two other Seas, before they had come to the Frith of *Clyde*, and the *Britons* Countrey. And *Beda* explaining *Gildas's* own words, tells us, that they ceas'd not to drive preys from the *Britons* ; And *agere pradam*, to drive a prey, is what can onely be done by Land, and so could not have been done in Corroughs. Nor is that driving by Corroughs ever called a Piracy, as it would have, if it had been from one Island to another. But the carrying of Beasts over a River is consistent enough with the driving a prey, though that this, in the Doctor's sense, infers an impropriety in the words, as well as a contradiction to common sense.

Whereas it is in the last place, urg'd, that a Wall against the *Scots* and

and *Picts* had been ridiculous, if the *Scots* could have come against the *Britons* by Sea. It is replied, that the Doctor (not knowing the Geography of the place so well as we, who have seen it) does not consider that this Argument proves rather against himself ; for if the *Scots* had dwelt in *Ireland*, which is almost to the South from *Dunbritton*, It had been ridiculous to have built a Wall against them from East to West : for against these incursions from *Ireland* by Sea in Corroughs, it should have been built along the mouth and coast of *Clyde*, from South to North, and the Doctor will allow me at least to call this a Demonstration ; it being a thing that may be seen. But the true reason why the Wall was built, is very obvious, viz because the incursions were made by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were not formidable except when united, and they had no passage for an Army when united, but over the Wall : whereas any injury they could doe in their Corroughs over the *Fritb* was very inconsiderable, and
could

could have been easily stopp'd; and so the Wall was still usefull against Conquest, though not against Piracy. And to conclude; all this is most consistent with *Beda's* Sense of *Transmarine*, but not with the Doctor's: And therefore we should rather believe the venerable *Beda* speaking of things very near his own time, when they are very probable, than a Paradox, broacht lately, far distant from these times, and defended now by our too partial Adversaries: especially since *Beda* shall be prov'd to agree thus, not onely better with common Sense, but with all the Authorities of the *Roman* Authours and Criticks. And I must still mind my Readers, that received Histories are not to be overturned without infallible Proofs brought against them. But who can be a more favourable Judge for the Doctor, than the *Saxon* and so his own Countrey-man, *Albertus Crantzius*? Or who can better understand the Time of the *Saxons* descent, and the History of *Beda*, than he who is himself the famous *Saxon Historian*?
He

his *Tabernellus*, that in the Year C. 12.

say, the *Saxons* were first invited
hither; but he says, let us write from
a higher Rise. And so he proceeds
to tell how the *Picts* settled here, and
he adds, that within a very little
after them, the *Saxons*, resolving not
to stay in *Ireland*, sailed sometime
into *Scotland*; and being for a little
time resisted by the *Picts*, both Na-
tions settled in that part, which is of
very old called *Scotland*. After
which, he proceeds to settle the
Romans, and to relate our Wars with
them, and he gives an account that
the Wall built by *Severus*, was a-
gainst the *Scots* and *Picts*, without
mentioning either the *Mare* or the
Caledonians. From which it is clear,
that *Crantzius* not only makes our
settlement much elder, than that of
the *Saxons*, and that we were here
before them by way of settlement;
and not by way of Incurſion; but
also, expressly acknowledges, that
our settlement was very near as old
as the *Picts*, who are beyond all
dispute proved to have been here long
before *Julius Caesar's* time. And


* *Utraque gens
eam infederat
provinciam que
jam diu Scotia est
appellata.*
† C. 19.

(which is very remarkable) he cites none of our Historians for confirming his opinion, and cites onely *Beda*, whom he interprets, and understands as we do, and as indeed all the World does, except our prejudiced Adversaries.

* P. 13. Edit.
Justin.

It is also objected by the Doctor, that *Gildas* tells us, that the *Scots* and *Picts* two *Transmarine* Nations, did first invade the *Britons*, under *Maximus*, which was long after *Cæsar's* time. To which it is answered, that *Gildas* there designs not to speak of the first Invasion of the *Scots* and *Picts*, upon the *Britons*, but onely of the first of the three Vastations made by them: for the *Scots* and *Picts* did often invade the *Britons* formerly, as is clear by *Eumenius* and others, yet they were never able to waste their Lands, untill that *Maximus* disarm'd the *Britons* altogether, as *Gildas* relates. And after this, *Gildas* sets down the other two Vastations, and names them all, under the express numbers of *First*, *Second* and *Third Vastation*. (1.) It is most clear by this passage, that the

the *Scots* who made this Vastation, liv'd not in *Ireland* but in *Scotland*, beyond the *Wall* and *Frithe*; for *Gildas* calls both the *Scots* and *Picts*, *Transmarine*, without distinction. And certainly the *Picts* lived not in *Ireland* at that time, and therefore neither did the *Scots*: And consequently, *Beda* did most justly interpret the word *Transmarine* to be, not because they liv'd without *Britain*, but beyond the *Frithe*, and *Beda* intimates that that was the common acception of the Word *Transmarine*, which is imported in the Phrase, *Transmarinus autem non dictus, &c.*

Because it's  by the Bishop and the Doctor, *Gildas* can only mean in all these passages, the *Irish* residing in *Ireland*; since he says * the *Irish* returned *Home*; and where could the *Home* of the *Irish* be, but in *Ireland*? I think fit to refer the Reader to the *Seventh Section* of my former Book; where I have fully prov'd, that by the *Irish*, in these Citations, is meant the *Irish* inhabiting *Scotland*, and which I shall
* *Hiberni revertuntur domum.*

again more fully vindicate in the *fourth Chapter* of this Book, from the objections urged in this *New Answer*. I urged also in my Book, many Authorities to prove, that it was the general opinion, even of the *English* Historians, that we were settled here, even before *Julius Caesar's* time, to which the Doctor returns no Answer. And this having proved my position by Authorities within the Isle, I'll now pass to the foreign Authors.

Against the Citation urged from *Eumenius* in his *Eulogy* to *Constantius*, the Doctor does very little else but repeat what the Bishop had said, and I had already refuted; and seeing he can make none but such inconsiderable additions, I wonder to find that Argument renewed, unless the Doctor thinks that his Authority is greater than the Bishop of *St. Asaph's*, for I have already observed, that the Comparison is strong enough in *Buchanan's* Sense, which is all that is requisite. And I wonder to hear him say, that it was not a greater advantage, and more for

Constantius's

Constantius's honour, that he did beat the *Britons* after they had been long trained up to fight, even by the *Romans*, than when they were altogether rude, and had never seen any enemies but *Picts* and *Irish* in *Julius Caesar's* time: For as common reason teacheth us, that they could not but considerably improve, in near four hundred years time of frequent Wars; So the Bishop of *St. Asaph* tells us, * that, to the end * P. 21. they might more easily resist the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Romans* taught them the Art of War, and furnished them with Arms; which is sufficient to sustain the strength of the Orator's comparison, when he asserts, that *Constantius's* Victory over the *Britons* was greater than that of *Cesar's*. And albeit the next Paragraph mentioneth other advantages, yet it does not follow, that these advantages were not very considerable; and these advantages are no part of the former Comparison, but make a new Paragraph, and are a new heightning of *Constantius's* Victory, from other grounds. (2.) I could

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never see how it could be truly said by the Oratour, that the *Britons* were used to fight against the *Irish* and *Picts*, if by the *Irish* be not meant there, the *Scots*: for as I have prov'd that we were called *Irish* in those Ages, so I desire to know where the *Britons* were used to fight against any *Other Irish* save those, who inhabited *Britain*? Nor do the *Irish* pretend that ever there were any Wars between the *Britons* and them, save onely in *Egbert's* time, which was many years after *Cesar*; and even this is but a Conjecture of a late Authour, *Usher* and *Flabartie* do adduce no more ancient Authour for it. And so that cannot verifie the Oratour's saying, that they were accustomed to fight against the *Irish* in *Cesar's* time. It is also very considerable, that the *Picts* here are joyned, as used to fight joyntly against the *Britons*, for it can never be instanced that the *Picts* joyned with any against the *Britons*, save with us. And it is indeed incredible, that the *Scots* should be accustomed to fight from *Cesar's* time.

time to *Constantine's*, and to the Year 503, (which must at least include about six hundred years, allowing onely one hundred years to verifie that word) and yet never settle where they fought, venturing their lives for the defence of other Mens Lands for a prey, which could be of very little use to be plundered in those days, there being little to be taken save Cattel, which could have been hardly transported in Corroughs over such boisterous Seas,

(3.) The Doctor tells us, that *Britannicum*, and not *Britannium* is the *Adjective*, or at least that this Author useth onely *Britannicum* for the *Adjective*; and so *solī Britannī* were not good Grammar, if constructed in the *Genitive*. But to this I reply, that the Doctor adverts not that I have prov'd by Citations, which he Answers not, that *Britannum* is an *Adjective* and so *solī Britannī*, good Grammar in the *Genitive*, and there is nothing more ordinary for Oratours than to vary their Phrase, using sometime one way of expressing, and sometime

another variety in such Cases giving both delight and Ornament: Nor can I see why, if this had been ill Grammar, *Cambden* would not have carped at it, as he did not; or how *Scaliger* would not have taken notice of it, he having decided for us, after *Buchanan* had put this Construction on this expression: for though *Scaliger* doth not expressly take notice of the Construction, yet after he had fully considered the debate betwixt *Buchanan* and *Luddus* (wherein this was one chief Argument) he decides for *Buchanan*, which upon the matter is a clear approbation of *Buchanan's* Construction. This is all I contended for, by citing *Scaliger*; onely the Citation of him on *Tibullus* is wrong printed, for that of his on *Eusebius*. And that this is a clear Consequence drawn from *Scaliger* in his Notes on *Eusebius*, is undeniable. And if so, then certainly the opinion of *Scaliger* and *Buchanan*, with *Cambden's* acquiescence, is much to be preferred to our prejudiced Enemies, whose Learning does not lye so much that way. The Argument

Argument from the pointing added by the Doctor, in *Puteanus's* Edition of *Eumenius* is not onely contrary to that of *Stephanus* and *Plautin*, which I have cited; but even from that way of pointing, there is no advantage to the Doctor. For to sustain the words *soli Britann* to be *Nominative*, there should have been a *Comma* after *soli Britann*: For as they now run, *Et soli Britann* *Pictis* *modo*, & *Hibernis* *assueti* *hostibus*, they cannot be Constructed otherwise than thus, *Natio rudis* & *assueti hostibus*, *Pictis* & *Hibernis*, *soli Britann*: And if *soli Britann* likewise had been *Nominative*, the Oratour to make good Grammar, should rather have said *Natio rudis*, & *soli Britann* *assueti*, (and not *assueti*) *Pictis* & *Hibernis*. But abstracting from both the pointing and the Grammar, it is undeniable from this place, that this ancient *Roman* Oratour did in the days of *Constantinus* before the Year 503. consider our Colony as accustomed to fight against the *Britons*, and as a distinct people joyned in this War with

with the *Piſſs*, which cannot be applied to any other Nation but to us. And therefore *Cambden* and *Uſſer*, more reasonably fly to another ſubterfuge, viz. that *Eumenius* ſpoke according to the conception of that Age, wherein he lived; and it is undeniable, that that Age conſidered onely us, and the *Piſſs*, as fighting againſt the *Britons*, and as two Nations fixt here. But this Answer is alſo very ridiculous; for if our Antiquity had not been very conſiderable in *Eumenius's* days, the Oratour would not have expoſed himſelf ſo far, as to ſound the Compariſon upon a palpable lye, where he might have been traced; and ſo I confeſs if ſuch kind of Answers as theſe be allowed, no Nation can prove its Antiquity. But agreeably to all theſe objections, this Citation proves at leaſt, that the * Biſhop of *St. Aſaph's* poſition, that the *Scots* were not at all in *Britain*, neither by Incurſion, nor by any other way, till the Year 300. is inconſiſtent with this *Roman* Authour, as well as our Story, and the general belief of *Rome* at that time. The

* C. 1. Parag. 5.

The next Authour whom I did cite, was *Latinus Pacatius*, who, in his Panegyrick to *Theodosius* upon his Victory in *Britain*, complements him for having reduc'd the *Scots* to their own Marishes; which shews, that the *Scots* had their own Marishes in *Britain* before the year 503. To which the Doctor answereth nothing. And from the same Authours calling (in another place) the same *Marishes*, the *Marishes* of the *Caledonians*, I infer, that these *Marishes* were in *Britain*, and not in *Ireland*; and that the *Scots* were called *Caledonians*. And thereafter I adduce *Valerius Flaccus* and *Martial*, to prove our Antiquity. To all which, the Doctor answers nothing, but that the *Caledonians* were *Britons*, without answering my citations, which I have adduc'd to prove this. And as to the Criticks whom I cite for us, * he says very wisely and profoundly, that we are not to follow Modern Writers in their Improprieties. This Answer, so injurious to all the learned world, he also returns to my proving from
Lipsius,

Lipfius, *Bergier* and others, that *Galgacus* was a *Scot*. And when from *Tacitus* himself I prove, that he must neceffarily have been a *Scot*, for the *Irish* Kings never came to fight in *Britain*. He could not be a *Briton*, becaufe he was fpeaking to thofe who had never been under the *Roman* flavery. And *Tacitus* tells that he was a King of a Nation unknown, and but newly difcovered, whereas the *Romans* formerly knew the *Britons*. Neither was he ever pretended to be a *Pict*, nor is he in the Genealogy of their Kings. To all this the Doctor answers nothing. All then that is answer'd to my testimony from *Tacitus*, is, That thofe who fought under *Galgacus*, were *Britons*, and not *Scots*, as appears by *Galgacus*'s Speech to them, wherein he fays, that they are the nobleft of the *Britons*, and fight to recover the Liberty of the *Britons*. And if *Tacitus* had known that they came out of *Ireland*, he had told it, nor could that *Irish* King who was with *Agricola*, have omitted to inform him of this. To which I Reply;

ply: That *Agricola* wrote not this relation himself, but it is written by *Tacitus*, who had it from *Agricola*, and so cannot be exact, being but the relation of a relation; and probably *Agricola* knew more of it from that *Irish King*. But there is enough in *Tacitus* to prove, that we were settled in *Britain* at that time, and were of *Spanish* extraction from *Ireland*, which was all that *Irish King* could inform. For it is clear,

(1.) That those who fought under *Galgacus* were *Caledonians*, and past not under the general name of *Britons*; for *Galgacus* exhorts them, to shew by their valour, * what brave Men *Caledonia* had separated from the rest; and though they were *Britons*, yet that proves not that they were not *Caledonian Britons*. (2.) *Galgacus* tells, that they were yet † unconquer'd and untoucht, which is not applicable to the old *Britons*, for they were conquer'd before that time; but is so far peculiar to the *Picts* and us, that we are still called *Indomitæ gentes*. (3.) *Tacitus* describes two different People in *Brit-*

Brit. & Agricola

Quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerat.

† Integri & Indomiti.

tain,

tain, one big and white, which shew-
 ed them of a *German* extraction; a-
 nother black in hair and face, said to
 be of a *Spanish* extraction. And can
 any thing agree better with our
 Histories, and the description of the
Picts, who are said to have come from
Germany, and of us who are said to
 be a Colony of *Spaniards*, that rest-
 ed for some time in *Ireland*? And
Tacitus's saying, that it could hardly
 be known then; whether these Na-
 tions were * *Originally Britons*, or
Strangers, shews, that we were there
 very anciently; which is also clear'd
 by *Beda*, and confirms what he and
Eumenius say.. And immediately
 after *Tacitus*, we are known under
 the names of *Scots* and *Picts*; and
 the ablest Criticks, who have com-
 pared Histories, call *Galgacus* expres-
 ly, *King of the Scots*; whose Inter-
 pretation, because that is their trade,
 and they are disinterested, must be
 prefer'd to the Doctor's; and I add
 now to *Lipsius*, *Bergier* and others,
 whom the Doctor acknowledges to
 prove that *Galgacus* was a *Scot*,
Keppingius, who, though he doubts
 of

* *Indigena an
 adveſti.*

of some of our Antiquities, places amongst these things, which are certain, that in *Agricola's* time, *Galgacus*, King of *Scotland*, fought bravely to retain his Liberty: and *Farnaby*, a learned and judicious *English* Critick, in his Commentary upon *Martial*, lib. *Spectaculorum*, Epigram. 7. l. 3. who on these words,

*Hist. Univers. de
reb. gest. reg.
Scot.*

*Nuda Caledonio sic pectora prae-
bit arso.*

Saith, The *Ursus Caledonius* is a *Scotia*. And on these words, lib. 10. Epigram. 44.

*Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure
Britannos.*

He interpreteth *Caledonios Britannos* to be *Scots*, conform to his exposition of the foresaid words. [*Nuda Caledonio, &c.*] *Schrevelius* also, in his Edition of *Martial*, cum notis variorum, is altogether of *Farnaby's* mind, and useth his very words in his Commentary upon the two fore-cited places. I will finish
this

this period with *Oretius*, who, speaking of our *Barley*, calls him *Gallus Caledonius*, &c. And with *Scaliger*, the Father, who, in his *Exercitationes* against *Candau*, declares the *Urbi Caledonii* to be *Urbi Scotici*: Which Authors, and many others, have prevail'd with *Church-bill*, in his *De vi Britannici*, to differ from our Doctor, in confessing that the *Caledonii* were the *Scots*.

By the same Magisterialness, with which he condemn'd *Lipsius*, and the other Criticks, in the former citation, he does also condemn the authority of *Scaliger*, and *Salmassius*, in my urging the Citations of *Scoto-brigantes*, in *Seneca*, and of the *Britica prima*, in *Spartian*. But however I must beg leave, notwithstanding this, to consider those two ancient Authors, *Seneca* and *Spartian*, to be sufficient proofs of our Antiquity, till the Doctor's friends can prove to me that he is a greater Critick, and as impartial in this case as *Scaliger* and *Salmassius* are. But however, the Doctor answers not the reasons I adduced, for proving these
 their

their Criticisms to be most just: and these are abstract from all authority, and I recommend the reading of them to any impartial Judge.

Claudian may be justly called by us, the *Scotish* Poet, as *Beda* is the *Scotish* Antiquary: for *Claudian's* whole Poem is, in effect, a continued confirmation of our History. For he having written a *Panegyrick* to *Honorius*, and in it magnifying *Theodosius* his Grandfather, he describes all along his fighting with the *Scots*, which *Sigonius* calculates to be in the year 367. as *Isackson* on this year observes. And I refer my Reader to my former Book, as to these passages cited by me, none of which passages can be applied to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, with whom *Theodosius* never fought, but onely to the *Scots* in *Britain*, with whom it is certain he did fight, many Monuments whereof are extant in that part of our Countrey called *Ferna*. But the Doctor says, though this were granted, yet it would fall much short of *Alexander*, or *Julius Caesar's* time: And what then? for

E

I never

I never intended that this should prove either, but onely that we were elder than the 503. But (says he) there appears no *Demonstration*. More wonderfull still! for I called it no *Demonstration*, though I think it weighs as much as any thing in the Doctor's Book. And I take notice onely of this Raillery, and Sophistical way of answering, to detect the two great Engines which the Reverend Doctor useth all along in his Book.

That which he answers here speciously is, that by *Ferna*, is meant *Ireland* by the Poet, and does he not mention the *Scots* moving all *Ferne*?

——— *Totam cum Scotus Fernen
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige
Tethys.*

And is it not Poetical (says the Doctor) to say he mov'd all a little part of *Scotland*?

To which my Replies are, that first *Scotland* was called *Ireland* in these days, as I have prov'd in the seventh Section of my former Book,

and shall prove more fully in the fourth Chapter of this. Onely at present I shall add, the * *English Polychronicon*, which expressly tells us so, Prior to *Forden*.

* Lib. i. c. 37.
Many evidences we have that Scotland is oft call'd and hecht *Hibernia*, as Ireland doth.

(2.) Did *Theodorus* conquer Ireland, or persue them over to Ireland? and does any Authour call Ireland, [*glacialis Ferne* ?] So then when a name is proper to two places, which of the two is meant, should be determined by the action which is said to be done in the place. And how agrees this with *Beda's* telling, that we were settled here long before that time, and were not *Transmarine*? Or with *Latinus Pacatus*, who says, that *Claudius*, before that time, triumph'd over *Britain*, and reduc'd the Scots *ad suas paludes*? And where have the *Irish* any Monuments and Histories of these Victories, as we have?

(3.) Does not *Juvenal* expressly make us, *Juvena*, which is the same thing with *Ferna*?

— *Arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvernæ promovimus.*

Which cannot be applied to *Ireland*, because the *Romans* never went thither, much less went they beyond it; and the adding

*Et modo captas
Orcadas, & minima contentos
noſte Britannos.*

does not at all agree with *Ireland*: for it is neither joyn'd to, nor is it near the *Orcades*; nor has it so short nights as we have. But

(4.) The name of *Ferna* was not confin'd to the little Countrey of *Stratherne*, but was extended to all the *Northern Highlands*, as far as *Inverness*, and so the Raillery of [moving all a certain little part] is insipid: nor is there any thing more ordinary than to give the denomination of a part of a Countrey to the whole; and thus, when it is said, *the King beat the Hollanders*; By this, is meant, the whole *Netherlands*, though *Holland* be onely a part: and this figure is so frequent in all the *Latin Poets*, that it were a mark of ones ignorance either to deny

ny it, or insist on it. Thus *Pëtrosius Arbiter* expresses the defeat given by *Cæsar* to *Aphranus* in *Spain*, *per funera gentis Iberæ*, though *Iberia* be but a little part of *Spain*, so called from the River *Iberus*, because the Battel was fought there; which holds in every circumstance with our case, wherein the Poet describes the trouble of all *Scotland*, by *Ferna*, because the Battel was fought there, though *Ferna* be onely a part of *Scotland*, called from a River of that name. And all *Scotland*, by the same Poet, and to this day, is called *Caledonia*, though *Caledonia* be but a small part of it about *Dunkeld*. And though I should grant that by *Ferne* here was meant *Ireland*, yet that cannot make against our being settled here before that time; For it is very reasonable to think, that the *Irish*, hearing that the *Romans* had penetrated so far into *Scotland*, as to have defeated so many of these as came originally from *Ireland*, they would have sent over men to assist us; especially knowing that it might be their lot,

next : even as if the *French* should beat and ruine the *Scots* now settled in *Ireland*, our whole Countrey would certainly be in a commotion, and we would send over men to their assistance, as we did in the late Wars. I confirm'd this citation of *Claudian*, by that of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, which is likewise an original proof of our Antiquity. To which the Doctor answers, that *Sidonius* distinguishes the *Caledonian Britons* from the *Scots* and *Picts*; This is, indeed, just such another, as if, because I call my self, in *Latin*, *Scoto-Britannus*, I should distinguish my self from the *Scots* and *Britons*. But I would fain know who were these *Caledonian Britons*, who were different both from the *Scots* and *Picts*; for after he has named the *Caledonian Britons*, in general, he specifies afterwards both the *Scots* and *Picts*. There is no answer made to the testimonies from *Hegeſippus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, nor *Oroſius*: and therefore I now proceed to the *Ecclesiastick* Writers cited.

After

After I had made it very probable that this Nation received, very early, the *Christian* Faith, because the *Christians*, who were persecuted by the *Romans*, would fly hither to us who had never submitted to the *Roman Tyranny*: I cited, in general, for our Nations being converted under the Reign of King *Donald, Baronius*, as the standard of *Ecclesiastick History* amongst the *Papists*, and the *Magdeburgick Centuries* among the *Protestants*. And it is strange, if they, being disinterested, and having the help of their respective parties, should fail in so remarkable a matter as that of the conversion of a whole Nation. Nor can *Baronius* be thought interested, because he would design to make our *first Mission* flow from *Pope Victor*, and our *first Bishop* to be sent from *Pope Celestine*: for it was all one to *Baronius*, as making as much for the Court of *Rome*, that our *first Bishop* came from any *Posterious Pope*. And if our single and interested adversaries (though so mightily extolled by one another,) should

be preferred to these Authours, and as infallible as they would fain be thought, there is indeed an end of all Controversie. But I am sure the rejecting of all Authorities, I have cited, and which are not so much as controverted, will not take with the indifferent World, and that satisfies me. But however, beside the Authorities of these great Men, let us consider the Grounds upon which they are founded, and which I have considered as well in all the Editions of *Baronius* I could find, as the Doctor could have done, though the Doctor in his wonted way Magisterially says, that it seems I never looked into him. I am used in my Employment to be contradicted, which makes me look exactly to my Citations. And where, as the Doctor tells, that what *Baronius* says, relates to the Conversion of the *Scots*, and not to their Antiquity, This is very ill reasoned: for if *Baronius* concludes, that we were a distinct *Christian* Nation from the *Irish*, and had a Church distinct from theirs long before the
Year

Year 503. it must necessarily follow, that in *Baronius* sense, we were a Nation settled here long before the Year 503.

Prosper does expressly say, that *Palladius* was sent to the Scots believing in *Christ*, to be their *First Bishop*, ordain'd by *Pope Celestine*. This *Mission* is acknowledged to be in the Year 431. and consequently there were Scots before that time, believing in *Christ*, so nationally, as to need a *Bishop*. The Controversie then is, whether these Scots, to whom *Palladius* was sent, were the Scots in *Ireland*, or the Scots in *Britain* for these Reasons. (1.) Because *Beda* says so in those Chapters, wherein he speaks onely of us, and not of the *Irish*, and *Dr. Stillingfleet* onely repeats here what I have formerly refuted. And *Beda* could not but understand best of any man the Conversion of a Nation, to which he was so near a Neighbour, to a Church, in which he is accounted so eminent an Historian and Teacher. (2.) The universal Tradition of the *Christian Church*, and of ours

in particular, makes *Palladius* our *First Bishop*, and our *Monasteries* and *Church-men* could not but carefully transmit such a point as that to us; especially in an age wherein Learning and Letters were frequent enough to be usefull, in remembering so extraordinary a point. And *St. Patrick* is acknowledged by the *Irish* themselves, to be their *First Bishop*, which could not be if *Palladius* had been before him, so that the Doctor here is forced to overturn all History and Tradition, to establish his own. (3.) The same *Prosper* does elsewhere say, that *Palladius* being ordain'd Bishop for the *Scots*, whilst he studied to preserve the *Roman Isle, Catholick*, he made the *Barbarous, Christian*. And that our Countrey was called an *Isle*, is acknowledged by all Writers, after the building of the Wall. But I now farther evince this point by *Hadrianus Valesius*, an Authour much commended by the Doctor himself, who, *lib. 3. Rer. Francicar. pag. 144. ad annum 429.* has this most clear and unanswerable passage. *Sic igitur Britannia*

Britanniae Provincias quinque quae Romanis paruerant, Angli occupavere. Reliqua Picti Scotique incolebant: Et cum antea ut Prosper docet, pars Britanniae imperio Romano subiecta, Romana Insula, pars à Pictis, & Scotis habitata, barbara Insula appelleretur, omnis Britannia barbara Insula facta est. With whom agree *Petavius & Car. Sigon. de Imper. Occident. p. 291.* So that Dr. *Stillingfleet* does unwarrantably turn this our Argument into an objection. And the matters of Fact narrated, being onely applicable to *Scotland*, as I have said, and as is clear, by the best Interpreters that must determine the Case betwixt the *Irish* and *Us*. (4.) *Baronius* and the *Magdeburgick Centuries* make *Palladius* our *First Bishop* and the *Mission* to be to *Us*: And though they be not allowed by the Doctor to be absolute Judges, yet certainly they must be allow'd to be the best Interpreters, and *Baronius* expressly says, *Una omnium cum Prospero est Sententia, &c.* that all others were of this opinion.

*Agente palladio
Scotorum Episcopo a Celestino in
Britanniam missa ut Pelagianam
haeresin extingueret. Rationar.
tempor ad. an.
429.*

The

The learned Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, to overturn this undeniable point, have invented a New *Hypothesis* of *Palladius*, having been first sent to *Ireland*, but that his Mission being unsuccessful, he came back and died in the Confiner of the *Picts*, and then the same Pope *Celestine*, sent *St. Patrick*; which *Hypothesis* I may now think is fully overturned, since Dr. *Stillingfleet* answers nothing to the many absurdities and inconsistencies which I urged against it; and to which I onely now add that since the Bishop confesses that he dares not deny, that there were several Conversions made before *Palladius* in *Ireland*, about the Year 400, It is strange that *Palladius* should have met with so much opposition, as to make him so soon despair, that he returned notwithstanding his Zeal, and *St. Patrick* posted from *France* to *Rome*, and from thence to *Ireland* within less than a Year; and so *Palladius* is onely called the first Bishop in *Nomination*, and *St. Patrick* the first in *Success*. Rare reasoning, rare despairing,

despairing, rare posting, and rare
 distinctions to over-turn the univer-
 sal Traditions and Histories of all
 the Nations concerned ! Upon which
 account the Bishop of St. *Asaph* * * P. 52.
 doth very ingenuously confess, that
 this doth not consist well with our
Hypothesis, nor with *Prosper's* own
 words. And all this is founded up-
 on *Nennius*, as the Doctor † acknow- † C. 2. P. 53.
 ledges, and the || Bishop of St. *Asaph*, || P. 56.
 and yet they confess that he is but a
 fabulous Authour, and cites *Prosper*
 most falsely, saying that *Palladius*
Missus est ad Scotos in Christum con-
vertendos, and upon a Notation of
 time falsely imputed to *Balaus*, which
 I formerly urged, and is not answer'd.
 And the Doctor in the forecited 2d.
 Chapter, p. 53. would have us be-
 lieve that *Prosper* contradicts him-
 self in making the *Scots* to be
 converted by *Palladius*, and yet
 to have been *Christians* before his
 time, which are inconsistent. But
 he knows better things, for there
 were *Christians* here before *Palladius*:
 for he was sent to be the first Bishop
 which

which presupposes *Christians* already converted, and a Church ready to be established; and he being sent also to convert us from the *Pelagian* Heresie, as *Baronius Petavins* and others observe, it must necessarily follow that we were a Church before that time, and remarkable too, for having a Heresie (which is an Error long, and obstinately maintain'd) spread amongst us, and consequently we must necessarily have been a Nation long before that time. But all men must be ignorant, and inconsistent, when they make against the Doctor, and he cannot answer them. And why doth the Doctor lay the stress of this * objection upon *Prosper*: if he be such an Author as is not consistent with himself, as the † Doctor says? And therefore I may be allowed to say that *Prosper's* Testimony is for us.

* P. 68.

† P. 53.

I must beg the Doctor's leave to say, That the learned Dr. *Hammond* differs not from me in the Point here controverted; for I have proved clearly from him, That we were *Christians* long before the Year

503. by Dr. *Stillingfleet's* own Confession, pag. 63. *pref.* For if we were converted before the Year 503, We were settled before that Year. But so it is, That Dr. *Hammond* confesses, we were converted before *Celestine's* time, and that *Palladius* was sent to our *Scotia*, and not to *Ireland*; To which Dr. *Stillingfleet* makes no solid Answer at all. And where the Doctor says, That I concealed Dr. *Hammond's* asserting that we received the first Rudiments of the Christian Faith from the *Britains*, in rejecting the *Roman Customs*; It is answered, That whether we received *Christianity* from the *Greek* or *Romish* Church, or whether our Conversion was rude or perfect, is not here controverted; But whether we received it before *Palladius's* Mission: And that we were *Christians* before his time, is clear from Dr. *Hammond's* own express Words. And though I relate our Conversion by Pope *Victor*, as the common opinion, yet I am so little tyed to that opinion, That I also, from *Beda*, relate our Agreement

as to *Easter* and other Points, with the *Greek Church*, in contradiction to that of *Rome*; and from which, *Archbishop Spotswood* did, before *Dr. Hammond*, think that our Conversion was from the *Grecian Church*.

To conclude this whole Point, concerning *Palladius*, I am sure its very Irreconcilable, that *Dr. Stillingfleet* should acknowledge that the Bishop of *St. Asaph* mis-cited *Balaus*, for proving that *Palladius* dyed Anno 431. (upon which, his whole *Hypothesis* depends) and yet that he should positively assert, That the Bishop's onely fault was, that he was too exact in that *Hypothesis*.

* C. 7. contr. Judas as it is translated by St. Asaph, pref. p. 8.

The next *Ecclesiastick Authour* I did cite was *Tertulian*, who about the Year 202. says * that the *British Nations* that could not be subdued by the *Romans*, yet willingly yielded their Necks to the Yoke of *Christ*. To this the Doctor onely answers, that this must be understood of the *Maatae* and *Caledonii*. But this is inconsistent with *Baronius's* applying that passage to us: and that Sense is not so much for the honour

nour of the *Christian* Religion, these being but sub-divisions of a Nation. But since this passage of the Conquer'd Nations in *Britain*, and that I have proved unanswerably by *Beda*, that the *Picts* and *We* were these unconquered Nations, it necessarily follows, that this passage is onely applicable to us.

The Doctor answers *St. Jerome* transiently, applying likewise what is said there of the *Scots*, to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, without giving any special answers to the Citations. But I have so fully refuted this in my Book, that it needs no reply. But if the Reader please, he may likewise consider *St. Jerome*, where, speaking of *Pelagius*, he says, * His extraction was from the *Scotish* Nation in the Neighbourhood of *Britain*. And though some contend that *Pelagius* was a *Briton*, none ever contended that he was an *Irish* man, and the Neighbourhood of the *Britons* cannot be extended so properly to *Ireland*, as to us. But whether *Briton* or *Scot*, yet it is clear from this Citation, as well as from the former, that in *Jerome's* opinion

* Habet enim
progeniem Scott-
ica gentis de Bri-
tannorum vici-
nia.

there was a *Scottish* Nation living then in *Britain*, and that this was the common opinion of the Age, else so good an Authour would not have written so.

To the Citation from *Epiphanius*, nothing is answered.

I confirmed all these Citations by several reasons, which are not so subject to quibbling as Citations are; for these are founded on common Sense, and therefore the Doctor answers little or nothing unto them. But I hope the Reader will duly weigh them. But how can it be imagined that the *Irish* would have sent no Colonies to settle, till after the 500. Year of God, they having been time out of mind, acknowledged to have been settled in *Ireland*, and being a very broody People, and having no Wars (whereas the design of Colonies is to dis-burthen the Nation by foreign Settlements) or that they would not have assumed to themselves the Glory and advantage of these Wars? or that the *Scots* here would have fought for the *Pills* above

above six hundred years together, without settling in the Countrey, which they conquered, contrary to the Custome of all other Nations, who made Incurfions? Or how can it be imagined that the *Romans* would not have resentred against the *Irish*, all their Inrodes, if they had been made from *Ireland*? Or that the *Picts* could have subsisted without the *Scots*, the *Romans* and *Britons* staying all the year within the Isle, and the *Scots* going home always in the Winter? Or if they had not been settled among the *Picts*, till the *Saxons* were settled among the *Britons*, how is it imaginable, that the *Picts* would have invited them to settle then, when they had seen how the *Britons* were ruined by their *Auxiliaries*? Or why would the *Picts* have invited them to settle among them, when the *Picts* were become more numerous, by the Generations of six hundred years, and after that they themselves were straitned in their Possessions by the Irruptions of the *Saxons*; a new Nation who had

gained all betwixt the two Walls, which was, in effect, the far better half of what they possess ? And since the *Scots* and *Picts* were still joyned in all the Actions that were performed, and are spoken of still in the same way, and Phrase, how should we think the one was settled, and the other not ? And that no mortal Historian, or other, should have observed this, till *Luddu's* time ? All these reasons supporting one another, and joyned to our Citations, should be at least allowed to maintain the Authority of so many Historians and Histories, in possession of belief.

Having thus established my own position, by Authorities and Reasons, I appealed in this difference betwixt interested Countries, to the dis-interested Judgment of the greatest Criticks and Historians, and all whom I have cited are acknowledged to be on our side, as I have formerly cleared in the respective Citations. To which nothing is answered, but that we must not believe them (being Modern Writers) in their Improperities : An answer indeed

indeed, not worthy of so undertaking an Antiquary. That we must not believe Antiquaries in their own Art, nor dis-interested Authours in differences between interested Nations. But since Scaliger is the only Critick, who is alledged not to be positive for us, I here insert his own Words. *In Tibullum, lib. 4. Te manet invidius? Invidius sane adhuc eo tempore. Nam hactenus ne Cæsar quidem illos subjungavit. Primus Cæsarum, Claudius de illis triumphavit: Cujus rei amplissimum testimonium habes in Catalect. meorum lib. 1. nempe Elegantissimos versus à quodam ejus temporis poeta scriptos quos inde petas licet. Sed & Seneca, in Αποκολοκυνδωσι, idem testatur in Choricu Anapestis, & Cæruleos Scotobrigantes, pro quo ineptissimè bodie editur Scutabrigantas. Quare & Scoti hanc gentis suæ Antiquitatem mihi debent, qui primus illam locum emendavi, quum ipsi hactenus gentis suæ testem Claudiano antiquiorem non haberent.*

And in Eusebium n. 20. 60. Et Cærulei Scotobrigantes, ut olim feliciter à nobis emendatum esse asseri-

mus : adversantur tamen quidam, in quibus boni, malique ; docti, indocti ; Aiunt Scotos ante tempora senescens, imperii notos non fuisse. Utinam demonstrationem attulissent quâ nobis jugulum peterent. Ante Constantini tempora, inquiunt, notum Scotorum nomen non erat. Acutum sane telum, nisi plumbeum esset. Burgundiones & Longobardi, decrepitâ ætate imperii cæperunt notescere. Qui eorum meminerunt, de vetustissimis Velleius, & Ptolomæus, extant hodie. Si periissent, ut multi alii, ideo Longobardos tunc primum, quum in Italiam irruerunt, Burgundiones quum Viennensem & secundam Narbonensem occuparunt, esse, & vocari, cæpisse diceremus. —

Qui igitur ex Hiberniâ in Britanniam ferocissimi trajecerunt, non esse cæperunt, nisi postquam in Britannia fuerunt ? Quid stultius ? Quid ineptius ? Sed eorum nulla mentio apud Ptolomæum & Cornelium Tacitum, atqui nec Burgundionum, Longobardorum, Anglorum & Gothorum, apud Plinium, Strabonem, Melam, alios. Quam indignæ sunt hæc velitationes

tationes liberalibus ingeniis? —

Postquam per multum tractum temporis Septentrionalem oram Britanniae excursionibus & latrociniis vexassent, tandem ab Antonino Pio in ordinem redacti, finibus suis sese continuerunt.

From which I argue thus, Scaliger there concludes, that we were one of the Nations against whom *Claudius* fought, and that we were never subdu'd till then. for *Claudius* never fought against the *Irish*; and the *Scots* here spoken of by *Scaliger*, must be those whose antiquity *Scaliger* did formerly prove out of *Seneca*: for he says, * the *Scots* owe to him the Antiquity of their Nation. But so it is, that the *Irish* living in *Ireland*, do not owe the Antiquity of their Nation to him: for it is not deny'd on either side, that they were much more ancient; and I am sure the *Irish* were not called *Scots*, in *Scaliger's* time. And both this passage of *Tibullus*, and that of *Seneca*, joining the *Scots* to the *Britons*, must certainly be interpreted onely of the *Scots* in *Britain*, according to *Wisher's* own rule.

* Et Scots hanc genti sua antiquitatem mihi debent.

The passage likewise cited by me out of *Ensebius*, ad *M. M. L. X.* does also prove, that *Scaliger* thought us elder than the declension of the *Roman Empire*, as is now alledged, for he speaks there of that Nation, of whom he had formerly spoken out of *Seneca*. But so it is, we were these *Scots*, and not the *Irish*: And it was never controverted, but the *Irish* was a Nation long before that time, as I said formerly: and consequently, *Scaliger* contemns very justly those Authours, who deny, that we were a Nation before *Constantine's* time, because no Authours spoke of us till then: For, says he, the *Longobards* and *Burgundians* were established Nations long before they were known by these names. And the Nation of which *Scaliger* speaks, is that Nation *Quæ trajecit ex Hiberniâ in Britanniam*: And it were ridiculous to apply this to the *Scots* in *Ireland*, or deny that *Scaliger* thought we settled here while the *Roman Empire* flourished. *Scaliger* also there says, that after we had troubled *Britain* by IncurSIONS, we were

were at last forc'd to contain our selves within our own bounds. Which shews, (1.) That we had made Incurfions long before *Antoninus's* time, which was about 100 years after *Christ*, contrary to what the *History* of *St. Asaph* saith. (2.) *Antoninus* forced us to contain our selves within our own bounds, and therefore we had bounds and marches of our own, before that time, and so we were settled long before 503. And all this agrees with *Eu- menius* and *Pacatus*, and proves that what they write relates to us. (3.) *Pausanias*, (whom *Scaliger* there cites) tells us, that *Antoninus* took much Land from them; *Ergo*, they had Land before that time, for that Land could not be in *Ireland*, for *Antoninus* never took Land from the *Irish*. And whoever these *Brigantes* were, yet *Scaliger* there makes us the *Brigantes*, and the question there is onely concerning *Scaliger's* opinion of us. Nor am I concerned at his calling us *Brigantes*: for I can prove that *Brigantes* signifies not *Robbers*, but *Highlanders*, from the

the word *Briga*, which signifies an *Hill*. And I receive kindly the Apology made by the Doctor for the Bishop, that his Lordship called us not Robbers, but onely produced a Testimony from *Gildas*, whom I excuse for abusing us, because of that Nation which was over-run by us; and probably our spoiling of them might be the Ground of his Quarrel.

The Doctor likewise argues against my Citations from *Favin* and *Paulus Aemilius*, as speaking onely of an alliance betwixt *Achaius* and *Charles the Great*, and nothing as to *Fergus*, nor the Succession of Kings for 330. years before *Christ's* Nativity: But, alas! How trivial is this Reflexion! For I never adduced these Authours for proving directly, that part of our History relating to *Fergus*; but did justly argue, that we must have been settled here much earlier than the Year 503. because about the Year 790. we were a very considerable Nation, and entered into a League with *Charles the Great*, which these Authours do fully prove.

prove. And I likewise produced this Citation, to shew how unwarrantably the Bishop of St. Asaph confined us to some few Countries now erected into the Earldom of Argyle.

As to *Sigonius*, I shall set down some Citations which formerly I forgot to place on the Margin. But it is strange that the Doctor could not find them, though he uses not to search much for what makes against him, His words are, * *Eodem anno (qui* * *De Occident :*
fuit 360 post Christum) Julianus a- *Imp. l. 6. p. 141.*
pu'd Parisios bibernans, Scotos, Pictos-
que Britannos incursantes audiens,
Lupicinum magistrum armorum in
Britanniam destinavit. And in another place he says, *Anno vero Christi*
449. Britanni namque à Pictis &
Scotis (qui Pictis adjuncti partem
Insule ad Aquilonem tenebant) de-
sperato Romanorum auxilio ad An-
glo-Saxones Germaniæ populos confu-
gerunt. From which Citations, it is undeniable that *Sigonius* thought that we were possess'd of the Northern part of this Isle before the Year 360. and that at that time we were joyned with the *Picts*, in possessing the same.

I cited

I cited also *Selden's* clear Authority, to which nothing is answered.

And when I said in the first impression of my Book, that all Historians had own'd our History; I meant all who wrote before *Luddus*, and *Camden*, which I still believe to be true. And yet to prevent quibbling, I ordered the expunging of the word [*All*,] in the second Impression, before I knew of any censures but my own. And now the Doctor produceth onely two, who wrote since their time, and are not of such weight as these cited by me. And if *Ubbo Emmius* had considered what I now produce, he had at least acknowledged our History before the Year 503, whereas he does not so much as allow our History till after the Year 829, which, even the Bishop of *St. Asaph* will think ridiculous, and which being after the *French League* is redargued by unquestionable Proofs, neither is *Boxbornius* special, and has been mislead by *Usher*.

Thus,

Thus, I hope, I have again overturned the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* two chief Positions relating to us, *viz.* That there were no *Scots* in *Britain* at all, before the Year 300, which is expressly contrary to what is said by *Eumenius, Tertullian, Latinus, Pacatus, Seneca, Spartan* and *Beda*; and that other Position, *viz.* That we were onely here by way of Incurſion, from the Year 300. till the Year 503. which was all that I did chiefly undertake, and for which, though I needed not to have produced Arguments, but onely answered his Citations, (for according to Dr. *Stillingfleet's* own Position, a received History is not to be overturned, but by very convincing Proofs) yet because I found that neither the Bishop nor the Doctor could bring any Proofs to overturn our History, I have likewise proved, the truth of it as to these Periods of time, by Authorities which I may modestly say very learned men have thought unanswerable, and which the Doctor's answers (being so insufficient after the assistance he has got) shew to be so. CHAP.

C H A P. III.

What the Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Stillingsfleet say against our Histories, from Fergus the first, examined.

THOUGH I was not obliged to maintain our History beyond the Year 503. that being sufficient to overturn the two Positions laid down by the Bishop, yet I think it fit and reasonable for me to examine also, what our two learned Adversaries say against our Histories in general, even as to these dark times, in which, neither our Neighbours nor we can get such a sequel and chain of Authours, as these I have produced to prove our being here before the Year 503.

Let us then remember (1.) that we are onely obliged to produce Historical, not Mathematical, nor Legal proofs. (2.) That we are onely maintaining our *Origine* to be from a Neighbour Nation, and very near
to

to the Age of Letters, and that there is nothing in this our *Origin*, either vain or fabulous, we neither deriving our selves from *Egyptians*, *Grecians* nor *Trojans*, nor contradicting even in these first dawnings of our History, the uncontroverted Tract of foreign Historians: And so all these long digressions, which the Doctor, to shew his own learning, produces, concerning *Berisus*, *Mancus*, *Saffridus* and others, and particularly of their rejecting their own fabulous descent from *Brutus*, is absolutely impertinent; there being nothing that can be alledged in our History to contradict foreign Historians, which I have not taken off in my first Book, without any answer made to it. And though there should be some Errors in the Tract of a History, yet the whole History for that must not be rejected, else no *English* Historian should be believed more than ours, we seeing in our own Age, matters of Fact, especially relating to our own Countrey, very much mis-represented, to say no worse at this time; And I

desire

desire to know what Warrant *Luddus*, our first Adversary, had for asserting the descent from *Brutus*, and for his promising to prove it; and yet this Authour passes for a great Critick, and *Camden* states the debate betwixt *Buchanan* and him, as the debate betwixt a great Antiquary and a great Poet: Well decided indeed, and this is a great proof of *Camden's* being an impartial Antiquary, and since most of the old *English* Historians who wrote their general History, tell of this descent from *Brutus*, we may controvert in the same way the truth, even of their latter Histories; because they are founded on their old Histories which assert *Brutus*, and so contradict the whole Tract of the *Roman* story as ours do not. (3.) The Bishop and the Doctor do both wrong us very much, in observing, that all our Neighbour Nations have thrown out the old and fabulous beginnings of their History, but that we still retain our ancient Fables, for any man that reads our History will see that most of our Historians have omitted

omitted the old *Irish* Fables of *Gabrielus* and *Seda*, and all that long line from *Japhet* to *Fergus* the first, navigated lately again by *Ogygia*, and much used by our reverend Critick *De Stillingfleet* in this answer against us. It is acknowledged by the Doctor himself, that *Boethius* and *Jeanes Major* do very ingenuously pass from many later things, because they smell of that fabulous age, but the Doctor does charitably make these to be the effects, not of sincerity, but of Craft: so nothing can stand in Judgment before such Criticks.

The first thing I say then for our Historians, is, that what they say from *Rheuda's* time, is not onely made probable, but is undeniably proved by *Beda* and *Eumenius*, who do clear that we were here before *Julius Caesar's* time; and if we were, certainly we had Kings, nor did the Genius of our Nation ever incline to a Common-wealth as others have done: *Rheuda* is made a *Scotish* King by *Beda*, *Galgacus* by *Tacitus*, *Donald* by *Baronius* and the Eccle-

flastick Historians, and all this be-
 fore the Year 300. From *Romulus*
 then to *Fergus* the first, are but by
 our Computation 130 years, and to
 what purpose should so many ho-
 nest men have conspired, and a
 whole Nation have concurred so
 zealously, to maintain a Lye; so lit-
 tle usefull, as the lengthning out An-
 tiquity, for so short a time as 130
 years? And though there were no-
 thing for it but Oral Tradition, why
 might it not be received for so short
 a Period? and since a Father might
 have told this to his Son, in an
 age wherein men lived so long, and
 especially as to the descent of a Na-
 tion, and the race of Kings, of
 which men are very carefull: to for-
 rife which, I adduced *Livius* say-
 ing, *Per ea temporaria litera fue-
 re, una custodia fidelis memoria re-
 rum gestarum, & quod etiam si qua
 in commentariis Pontificum alibique
 publicis privatisque essent monimen-
 tis, incensa urbe, plerumque perierat.*
 But because there is a debate be-
 twixt the Doctor and me, concern-
 ing the Translation of these words,
 I urge

I urge from common Sense, that *Oral Tradition* was to be *Livius's* best Authority, in the beginning of his History, and in many things afterwards; for though, after several years, the *Romans* were exact in preserving their History by keeping publick and distinct Records, which the Doctor does needlessly prove, since it was never controverted, yet certainly in those things which he narrated before the building of *Rome* he could have no Warrant but *Tradition*. (2.) After the building of *Rome*, it's not to be imagin'd, that a Nation onely given to Wars, would for many years fall upon the exact keeping of Records. (3.) These Records might possibly bear the names of Magistrates, which is all that is proved, and in a Monarchy could have been preserved without these, as to their *Kings*. For I will undertake there are few here but know who reigned these 130 years by-past among us, though they can neither read nor write: And though private Magistrates might be forgot, yet hardly Kings, and very memo-

rable actions could be so: and I dare say, that in our own, and in most of the considerable Families like ours, not onely the Succession, but the chief Accidents which befell the Family are remembred for two or three hundred years by many hundreds in the Family, though there be no written History of such Families; so far does interest and affection prompt and help Memory and Tradition to supply Letters. (4.) Though these Records might have preserved names of Magistrates and Treaties, with the conditions thereof, yet what were the occasions of War, the considerable exploits and Strategemes done in them, and many other such matters of Fact, could onely be preserved by Tradition; for these were never Recorded in any Nation, and could have no Warrant save *Oral Tradition*, without mentioning the *Haranguer*, and such like Historical matters: so that *Livie*, as well as *Boethius* must have wanted flesh to fill Nerves to support it, and colour to adorn this History. (5.) Since the City, and most

most of these Records were burnt, we have as great reason to doubt of their History as of Ours; for albeit we cannot now produce the warrants of them after Vastations as remarkable as their burning was, yet we have others who say they saw such Books, even as *Dionysius Halicarnassius* cites *Antiochus Syracusanus*, for whose History no more is said by the said *Dionysius*, but that he took his History out of ancient and undoubted words, and he is but one Authour who says so of himself; whereas we have many Historians, who say that they with their own eyes saw the Records, out of which they took the things they have.

These things being premised, I renew the Argument which I proposed in my first Book for proving the truth of our Histories. Thus,

These Histories must be believed, and are sufficiently instructed, in which the Historians who writ them had sufficient Warrants, for what they wrote, and we have five or six Historians, men of untained Reputation, who when they wrote

their Histories, declare that they wrote the same from *Authentic Records* and *Warrants*, which, being a matter of Fact, is sufficiently proved from the Testimony of so many honest Witnesses, who declared they saw good Warrants for what they wrote: and if this be controverted, what can be true in humane Affairs; or why should we believe *Livius*, *Josephus* or others, since the Authors which they cite are not now extant? This is all the subject can allow, and what the learned Bishop *Pearson* and *Heylin* think not only sufficient, but all that is possible to be done in such Cases, the one, proving by my Method and Arguments, that *St. Ignatius's* Epistles are Genuine, and the other, that there was such a King in *England* as *Lucius*; and that he introduced into it the *Christian Religion*, in which the Doctor agrees with him, against the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and I hope our Authors will at least give a deference to the opinion of two such eminent English Divines.

The

The Laws also of all Nations allow, that when Papers are lost, the tenour of them may be proved, providing a probable way of losing of them to be instructed, which the Lawyers of all Nations call *Casus amissionis*. But so it is, we assign two remarkable occasions and sufficient reasons, to instruct this *Casus amissionis*. The first in the Reign of *Edward the first*, who industriously did take away our Records. Which in the process before the Pope, we offered to prove by most famous Witnesses in presence also of the said King, who, by his not contradicting, did acknowledge this matter of Fact. The second in the time of our Reformation, in which, the blind Zeal of some, and the interested Avarice of others, prevailed with them to destroy the Records of our Monasteries. And so far are these accidents true, not onely in *History*, but in our sad *Experience*, that we want in matter of private right, what might have been furnished us both from our *Records*, and *Monasteries*: And so it were ridiculous to think, that we abstracted

those vouchers upon design; especially seeing long after that, and till *Luddus* time, no Nation, nor Authour, ever controverted our History; and I Challenge the Doctor to produce any such Authour, as certainly they would have done, if the matters of Fact had been either ridiculous in themselves, or inconsistent with the tract of other Histories.

Of this fundamental Argument the Doctor takes no notice, and makes no answer to it; but I, to fortifie this Argument, having insisted upon the probability of what our Historians relate, and the Reputation of the relaters, he runs out in an answer to both these, to which I shall make a Reply: But I conceive nothing can take off the strength of my Argument, except he either prove, that there could have been no such Warrants, and that what is related is in it self inconsistent with the History of other Nations, or that he had produced to us good Authours contemporary with these things which he denies, and we assert, and had shewed that these Authours deny

deny these Transactions, or deliver things inconsistent with them; nei- of which he has done, nor can doe.

The first general Ground insisted on by the Doctor, is, that we have no Historians who wrote in the time in which the things related were al- ledged to have been acted; to which it is answered, as formerly, that an Authour writing from sufficient Re- cords, is as much to be believed as if he had lived in the time; and that is our Case: And I again renew my Query, if the Doctor thinks that Dr. Burnet's Book of *the History of the Reformation*, should not be believed in the next Age though the Warrants of it were burnt, which is very possible; and had it not been great folly, and impudence, in five or six honest men to have separately written, that they and each of them had the said Records, when they wrote from them? And though the Doctor insinuates that this has been formerly done by one or two which he cites, yet there were not many concurring there, as here; and it is
a very

a very different thing, for one Author to say that he wrote from such a Record, a particular passage, in which none was concerned, and for many worthy Men to say in their Epistles to their Kings and Nation, that what they wrote was true from the Records which they had given them from Monasteries and other publick Records, and to appeal to them as then extant: and certainly many would be very desirous to see these Records in the time of the writing these Histories, especially seeing the first Historians who appear in Print have both Rivals, and Enemies, as well as curious Criticks, and the Monasteries themselves, and the Keepers of the pretended Records, could not but have known the Forgery, if any such had been. Or durst so many ingenious Men, though they had been careless of their Conscience, have trusted their Reputation in so nice and quick-sighted an Age, as that, wherein all of them wrote, to the discretion of so many who could have discover'd the Cheat? Nor do we find

find, even from what the Doctor himself writes, that the single Testimony of these who pretend to have written from Records, is rejected, except where what they say is redargued, as inconsistent with other uncontroverted Histories, and Authors; or narrate things, in themselves incredible, as is evident from the instances of *Humbald*, *Geoffery*, *Annus* and others: so that to reject our Histories, lest the World should be obliged to believe these, is no solid, nor just way of reasoning. But the Bishop himself, to shun this, did with a greater shew of reason urge that our Historians were but to be accounted as one, since they followed one another in a File: But I did fully take off this, by proving that each of them saw some few of these Records, and Warrants, a part; and that they differed enough, to shew that they were in no Conspiracy: and this I hold as acknowledged, since the Doctor returns no answer to it.

That there could be no sufficient Warrants for our History, from the
Annals

Annals of our *Monasteries*, is contended, because the *Monasteries* themselves are much later than *Fergus the First*, who is to be proved by these *Annals*. But to this it is answered, that *Jona* and *Abercorn*, are *Monasteries* acknowledged by *Beda*, as long prior to *Beda's* time; and though the *Monasteries* were later, yet they might have Records as old as *Fergus*, for this is very probable in it self, and consequently ought to be believed, since it is proved by famous Witnesses. And whereas it is answered, that *bare Probability* is not sufficient to sustain a History, but the *Annals* themselves out of which it is taken must be produced: My return to this is, that if *bare Probability* were onely proposed, the answer is good, but it is not so when I say the thing is probable of it self, and is actually proved by Witnesses beyond all exception. And whereas, to overturn this, it is contended from the *Irish Annals*, that *Fergus*, whom we call the second, was our first King. To this I need say no more, but that

that I proved in my former Book, that all the accounts which the *Irish* gave of our entry into this Kingdom, are inconsistent, and contradictory one to another, and to which the Doctor has made no answer, and therefore they are not to be believed in themselves; but much less are they to be believed when contrary to the *Annals* of all our Monasteries, attested by famous Witnesses who saw them, and in a matter in which we were more concerned than they: and so it is probable we would have been more carefull to preserve it's Memory, (2.) I have proved in the first Chapter, not onely by the assertions of our own Historians, but by all the Historians who speak of us, both without, and within the Isle; that we had Kings long before *Fergus the second*, and that we had even *Christian Kings*; and it is almost impossible, that our Monasteries could have been mistaken in that, or at least that they would not have condescended, who was the *other Christian King*, if *Donald* was not:

And

And at least, our Adversaries should be put to prove who was our *First Christian King*, or acquiesce in him whom we assign. And it is also very strange, that not onely we, but the *Romish Church* it self should be mistaken; they being very positive in concurring with us, whereas no other Nation nor Church condescends, as I have said, upon any other *First Christian King*, or Authours to prove it. And to conclude this Period, I must say that it is wonderfull, that positive Witnesses, that say they saw old *Annals*, fortified by their Histories both at home and abroad, *Pagan* and *Christian*, should be less believed than the Ballads and Traditions of another Nation, who have none of these advantages: That *Beda* should be of less credit than *Jocelin*, and *Legends*, in which I dare say the Bishop and Doctor believe but very little, if any thing at all, save this; and why are not the *Legends* of *St. Congall* and *St. Brendan*, who mention the settlement of *St. Fergus the first*, as good as *Jocelin*, and others, produced

ced to prove that *Fergus* the second was our first King; especially seeing they likewise concur with *Beda* in his *Rebenda's*. Whereas the other contradict him, and that our Histories which have rejected *Gathelus* and *Simon Brct*, because that too great Antiquity is improbable, should be overturned by those who positively own a Lineal, well proved descent from *Japhet*, and condescend upon days, and months, and that our Historians which are many, and very much esteemed over all *Europe*, should be overturned by the Authority of *Rhimes*, and rage of History, which no Man adventured to form into any Body whatsoever, till of late some *Specimen* is given, in which amongst other rare Marks of veracity, our League with *France* was alledged to have been made with their Kings; as if *France* understood as little their own Leagues, as they would have *Rome* to understand their own Conversion; or that all the Nations of *Europe* should have been mistaken, as to this palpable Point.

I reflect

I reflect not on the Publishers of the Manuscript of the Abbacy of *Melros*, printed at *Oxford*; for I honour every thing that comes from that learn'd Society, in a special manner; but it is no reflexion on them, to say that we have another, much fuller, in what makes for *Scotland*; though it could not be so exact as the other Monasteries, since it was oftentimes of old, under the *Saxons*, who would certainly lessen what relates to us; and thus the fault lay in the Copy, and not in the Publishers, for the Authour of that Manuscript calls *Beda* our Countryman, so he must have been then our enemy; but however it begins not with *Alpin*, as the Doctor alleges, though I mention that, because he is not mentioned in the *Oxford* Edition: for it declares, that it is to continue where the Reverend *Beda* left, and so is a proof of our Nation, and History, from that time, and the differences of that from ours shall be printed, and I have at present printed these few. And though *Buchanan* had the Books
of

of *Plufcardin* and *Pafley*, yet it does not follow that therefore the beft and moft part of the Books of our Monafteries were not carried to *Rome*, or destroyed, and fo cannot be recovered from *Rome*; and how can it be imagin'd, that thofe who burnt all our Magnificent Churches, would have fpar'd a few Books, written by Monks, and which were fo little esteem'd in thofe times amongft our Zealots?

The Doctor, in proving there was no fuch Authour as *Veremund*, forgets that I have prov'd by two famous Witneffes, a Lord of the Sef-
 fion, and a Principal of a College, (both learned, and devout men, much esteem'd abroad where they travell'd) that they had feen the Book; and here is no *bare probability*. And I hope it is uncontroversed, that the depositions of two Witneffes cannot be taken away by probabilities; nor can it be alledged that *Chambres* followed *Boethius's* faith in this, for he fays he had it, and he cites many things material out of *Veremund*, nor does the Lear-

ned Doctor *Pearson* prove any other way the truth of St. *Ignatius's* Epistles, than by producing the Testimonies of *Origin* and others, who have cited passages out of those Letters, as Letters written by St. *Ignatius*, though none of these Authours liv'd in the age with St. *Ignatius*; and so they did not legally prove, that these Letters were written by him which are not in *Boetbius*. But however, let us a little examine the Doctor's probabilities.

The first is, that many have forg'd Authours, as *Annius*: good! *Ergo*, these two learned Men did it; *a posse ad esse non valet consequentia*. (2.) We have nam'd other Authours, who are not now extant: *Ergo*, *Veremund* never was: good again! and if *Fordon* had been lost, or *Elphinstoun*, whom we have not yet seen, such Authours had been both denied, and so had that learned Manuscript written by *Craig*, which we have but lately recovered. (3.) *Fordon* cites not *Veremund*, though he cites many others; This is such another consequence, as if I should

Should argue against the Doctor; that *Boethius* cites not *Fordon*; ergo, *Fordon* never was. But I chuse rather to argue thus; the Bishop and Doctor both think that *Boethius* did onely transcribe *Fordon*, and yet he never cited him, which they think he did, that he might have the honour of being thought our first general Historian himself: And yet it is prov'd, there was such a Book as *Fordon*, then extant; and therefore I conclude, by the same reason, that *Fordon* transcribed much of *Veremund*, and therefore conceal'd his Authour. (4.) Bishop *Elphinstoun* mentions him not; but to this I answer, that the Manuscript is not ours, and so may be gelt; but I conceive, by the Doctor's *Epitome* of it, that it is it self but an abridgment of *Fordon*, and therefore he mentions not *Veremund*, because *Fordon* had not mentioned him, and it was very ordinary in those days, to write *Epitomes* of *Fordon*, some whereof are extant with us, and *Boethius* tells us that *Elphinstoun* never wrote an History;

but onely prepar'd some materials for one; and if he wrote a History, here is again another Historian, who being a devout and learned Bishop, must be thought not to have written without sufficient warrants. Though then probabilities could overturn the deposition of Witnesses, yet these have no weight, but what the Doctor's Authority gives them. And though it were prov'd, that *Baker*, *Balæus*, and the other *English Historians* whom I cite, had not seen *Veremund*, yet surely they thought it not onely probable, but certain, that there was such an Author.

Against *Forden* it is urg'd, that he mentions not our first Kings from *Fergus the First*; to *Fergus the Second*; and that he confesses he knew not how long any of these Kings after *Fergus* reign'd; and from this also it is concluded that we have no *Manuscripts* to instruct the same. *Nam*, says he, *ad plenum scripta non reperimus*, To which it is answered, that this is a great argument of his ingenuity, for if he could have written

ten

ten without sufficient warrants, why could he not have made up this, as well as the rest? But the true reason is; that the Warrants did then lie in the Monastery, especially at *Icolmekill*, where *Veremund's* History was likewise kept. And it is clear, by *Boethius's* dedication to the King, that he thanked his Majesty for ordering that these should be delivered to him: and if the Doctor should at present write such another Dedication to the King, thanking him for letting him have the use of the *Alexandrian MSS.* of the Bible out of his *Bibliothèque*, could any man afterwards think that there were no such *MSS.* and that the Warrants of the Histories us'd so to be kept, as not to be got without publick Authority, is clear by the custome of Nations acknowledged by the Doctor out of *Levy*, and asserted by me in my First Book. As to our Nation, from *Paulus Jovius*, who was not interested in us, and consequently, it was no wonder that *Forden*, who was but a mean Priest, could not have *Veremund* and the other Warrants which

were necessary for filling up the History of our Kings, between the *two Ferguses*, which *Boethius* himself could not recover without the King's command, the Treasurer's assistance, and his own great expence and labour: and I know not whether it would not have been a greater villany and folly in him, to have asserted all this, if it had not been true, himself and all Persons interested being alive, or a proof of *Forden's* ingenuity, in not filling up what was deficient through want of the Warrants.

Against *Boethius*, it is urg'd by the Doctor, that he could not have had *Veremund*, and other sufficient Warrants from *Icalmekill*, as is pretended, because his History is printed in the Year 1526. and he had not these Records from *Icalmekill*, till the Year 25. so that the History could not be compil'd, printed and revis'd in a year. To which it is answered, that *Hector Boethius* is acknowledged to have had a better invention, than to have forg'd so improbable a falsity, especially in a thing

thing he might have contriv'd as he pleas'd; and in which the honour of the Nation was not concern'd, and as to which, the King, Treasurer and Monks of *Icolmkill* could have controll'd him; but this is easily reconcil'd; without a miracle, for certainly *Beethin* was writing his History long before he got these Records, and doing what he could, as *Forden* had done, without them before; and having at last got them, after the third message, *Tertio Nuntio*, which shews he was writing before, he might have easily added from the beginning through the whole Book, what was to be expected from *Peremund*, and others, and which, I dare say, the laborious *Dr. Stillingfleet* could have done in a month, and there was time enough from the beginning of 25. to the end of 26. (as we may well enough suppose) being near two years to have done all this; and this was a far less miracle than for the Bishop and Doctor to have sent *Palladius* from *Rome* to *Ireland*, to preach there long enough to have a suffi-

cient proof of the *Irish* being obstinate, and to despair of success, to return, and to die in a Countrey of the *Pills* all in one year: and *St. Patrick*, who was not then present, but was in *France*, to have got the news of this death, to have formed the resolution, and to have gone to *Rome*, and prevail'd with the Pope to ordain him, and all this in the small space betwixt the 25th of *December*, and the 6th of *April* following: at which time the Pope died; whose preceding sickness could not but have retarded that Affair.

I admire the Doctor, for insisting on the Printer's mistake, not mine, in calling *Turgot*, *Archbishop* of Saint *Andrews*, for I call him, p. 26. *Edition the first*, *Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, and so the calling him *Archbishop* afterwards could not have been ignorance in me, and the Printers thought all *Bishops* of *St. Andrews* must be *Archbishops*; and by the mistake of the same kind, without any observation, *Martial* is made to have liv'd in *Augustus's* time, whereas I plac'd him in *Domitian's*, and sent

sent a Copy so corrected, in print, to the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and the half of our own printed Copies are right in this, but in the *Second Edition*, I expung'd these, and some other literal faults, before I knew that the Doctor or any else was to write an answer: and, I am glad the Doctor is so fashionable a Gentleman, as to understand *Martial* better than I do: nor would I have insisted on the mistakes about *Forden*, and *Dempster*, if these had not been material to my purpose, whereof the one is not yet answered, and the other not at all notic'd by the Doctor.

I urg'd upon this head also, that the Sacred History was for many hundreds of years preserv'd by *Oral Tradition*: for though the *Jews* and we acknowledge, that the Scripture was penn'd by Divine Inspiration, yet in arguing against *Pagans*, we must make this probable by other Arguments. And the Doctor, in his *Origines Sacrae*, (which Book I esteem very much) uses the same Common Places with me, and amongst

amongst other things tells us, that
 men lived so long in those days that
 they were able to transmit Histo-
 rical Relations with much more cer-
 tainty than now. And *Josephus*, for
 proving the Sacred History against
Appian, cites Foreign Authours that
 are all lost now, and yet we believe
 there were such Historians. And
 albeit afterwards the Priests did pre-
 serve their Histories with great ex-
 actness, yet that way of preserving
 History by Records, took not place
 for many ages. And though our
 Monasteries are not to be compared
 with their Priesthood, yet they
 were sufficient, especially in these
 sincerer times, to preserve our His-
 tories. And though what they pre-
 serv'd is not to be believ'd with a Di-
 vine belief, yet they ought to have
 an Historical one allowed them, es-
 pecially since they are fortified by
 the probability of what they pre-
 serv'd, and the concurrence of as
 much *Roman* History, as *France* or
Spain can pretend to. Nor are the
 Citations from our old Laws to be
 condemn'd: for these at least might
 have

have been preserved by practice, as *Eucargus's* Laws. And it is undeniable that *Stene*, our famous Register and Antiquary, did within these 100 years declare, He had old Manuscripts bearing these our old Laws, though they are now lost, without weakening our esteem or observance of them, and he has printed many of them. And though Historians might have adventur'd to print some Historical Passages without sufficient warrant, yet neither they, nor our Register, durst have adventur'd to print Laws, nor would our Governours have suffered this, without sufficient warrants. And we must be believ'd in what concerns us, and us onely. Nor does it follow that because the Laws of *Alexander* the Third were lost; therefore the *Malcolpin* Laws might not have been preserv'd, they being the foundations of the Rights and Successions of our Kings. And therefore, as they were preserv'd with more care by us, they should have been attacked with less zeal by the Doctor; for his Monarch's sake, whose partiality

tiality I tax in this, and not his dis-
 loyalty. And to conclude this pe-
 riod in opposition to the Doctor, I
 do think that the most fundamental
 of all Laws were in all Nations pre-
 serv'd by mere Tradition, and are
 not written to this very day, save
 when some accident forces it, as in
 our late Statute for the Succession.
 Which Position, since able Lawyers
 must acknowledge, I do not con-
 tend for it with a Divine, who
 seems here to be out of his sphere,
 and more dogmatical than his Pro-
 fession will well allow. But why
 may not our Laws be as old as about
 800 years; since *Selden* and *Church-
 bill* tells us, that there are Laws yet
 extant in *London*, older than any
 the *Romans* had? And the Doctor's
 Raillery, that probably these Laws
 were in another Chest at *Icolmekill*
 with the MSS. which *Booth* says
Fergus brought from the sacking of
Rome in the time of *Alaric*, to be
 condemn'd; for as great Critics, as
 the Doctor, believe this to be true;
 as one may see by *Morhofius's* learn'd
Book de Patavinitate Liviana. From
 this

this received Principle also I conclude justly, that since *Lycargus's* Laws, and the old Laws of other Nations have been preserv'd, most of them without writing, and by mere Tradition, why may not the same Tradition be trusted for the Names, and for some general and probable actions of our Kings for 130 years, viz. from *Rhenda*, to *Fergus the First* ? or why might not our Monasteries have received these Traditions from such as lived nearer these times than *Gildas* did, to the first planting of *Christianity* in *Britain* ? And yet his, and other Ecclesiastick Traditions, are generally receiv'd, and acknowledg'd, and founded on, by our severe Doctor, and Churchmen ought to be tender of them, because without these, Fanaticks and Sectarians might press them very much.

Another ground whereby I endeavoured to render it probable that there were such Warrants as these declar'd to have been seen by our Historians, was, that what they declar'd was probable, and ordinary, for our Countrey, and other Northern

* *Antiquit. Hi-*
bern. c. 5.

† *Pref. p. 28.*

thern Countries, as *Ireland*, and
Domestick Historians call'd *Sa-
chies*, and *Bards*, who as Poets
preserv'd their Histories. This *Var-*
rens observes in *Ireland*, and *Powell*
in *Wales*. * *Bardi custodiunt etiam*
Nobilium insignia & Genealogias. And
in these were probably the memory
of the Names of our Kings, and their
considerable Actions preserv'd. Nor
can it be imagin'd, that a Family
can rise without getting their Lands
from some Kings; nor could they
have done considerable Actions, ex-
cept in their service: and so in re-
membring their own Genealogies
and Actions, could not omit to re-
cord those of their Kings. And *Li-*
vie, in the place cited, † tells us,
that the Histories of Private Fami-
lies were us'd as the Warrants of the
General History, and those *Luddus*
does cry up as the Warrants he us'd.
Nor does *Buchanan* decry them, ex-
cept in opposition to *Luddus* his u-
sing them as proofs of these positions
onely, that are inconsistent with the
Roman Contemporary, and other
Histories. And in so far I acknow-
ledge

ledge they ought not to be received; but that cannot be alledged against us.

I urg'd also that it was very probable, that we had ancient Written Histories; because we had the *Druids* amongst us who were Priests under *Paganism*, and they are acknowledged by *Cæsar* to have had the use of Letters. And though *Cæsar* does observe that they were averse from configning to Letters the Mysteries of their Religion, yet it does not follow that therefore they us'd them not, in preserving the memory of their Kings and memorable Actions. The one proceeded from a design to keep their Mysteries from being subjected to an examination, which they knew these Principles could not bear; and to conciliate a veneration to their Religion from the ignorance of the Admirers, as *Varus* also confesses *. But without the other, Letters had been altogether useless: for in what could they have employed them, if not in this? And since *Cæsar* † is positive, †

* De Antiq. Nib.
bern. c. 5.

† De Bell. Gal.
l. 6.

in

in privati publicisque rationibus, what can be meant by *publicae rationes*, save their Historical account of things? And this seems the more probable, that many of our Towns and Ports especially, have *Greek* names. And to the Doctor's difficulty how the *Druids* could have preserv'd their *Chronology* in these Ancient Times, I answer from *Pliny*, who tells, that they numbred time by the course of the Moon, and not of the Sun * : which proves, that very anciently they used *Chronology*. Nor does it follow, that because some of the *Druids* are said to have oppos'd the conversion of their People to Christianity, therefore others of them were not zealous for their conversion : even as though the Ancient Philosophers were generally severe Opposers of the settlement of Christianity, yet many of them, when converted, were eminent Lights in their time. And therefore I may conclude, that since it is very probable, that our Predecessours would be curious to preserve the Names of their first Kings, and

* L. 17. c. ult.

and the way of their first settlement :
 and since they had Letters wherein
 these might have been preserved :
 therefore it is probable that they
 were accordingly preserved. And
 that these Traditions and Records,
 as well as the Histories of Private
 Families relating these were con-
 signed to the custody of the Monas-
 teries with us, as elsewhere. So
 that since four or five Worthy His-
 torians declare, They saw these each
 a-part, their Testimonies concerning
 in a probable master of fact must be
 as sufficient, as if the Warrants were
 yet extant ; for since these would
 prove and satisfy in a Legal Trial,
 much more ought they to be al-
 lowed in an Historical one, *quod e-
 rat probandum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Our Authors vindicated in the accounts they give of the Genealogy of our Kings.

THE Doctor being convinced from these undeniable Proofs, that neither *Forden*, nor *Boethius* did forge the ancient Genealogy of our Kings, which the Bishop of *St. Asaph* did positively assert, but that they had Warrants and Authorities before their times; He falls upon a new device, and contends that *Boethius* did insert many things contrary to the account of the Genealogy preceding him. For as to the particular Genealogy from *Fergus* the First to *Fergus* the Second, he hath no account of this from *Forden*, who hath (as the Doctor says) professed, that he could find nothing particular concerning them; though he cites several Chronicles; and though *Forden* mentions an old *Higb-Land* Gentleman, a Genealogist, who gives an account

Prof. p. 2.

Lik. 3. c. 2.

account of the first Line betwixt the two *Ferguses*; yet the Genealogy by him given differs from that, which is owned by *Boeth* and *Buchanan*, both in the number, and in the names of our Kings. And this is alleged to have been done of purpose, to put in Regents not owned by the Genealogists, and to support the Law of incapacity, and that he might get mention made of *Rearba*, *Galdus*, *Caratacus* and *Donald*. And the Genealogist thus having extended the first Line, doth as much shorten the second Line, betwixt *Fergus* the Second and *Alexander* the Third; whereof the Doctor endeavours to give particular Instances. So that the Modern Historians had added more Kings in the Race from *Fergus* the Second to *Alexander* the Third, than are contained in the Genealogy betwixt *Fergus* the First and *Fergus* the Second. And, upon the matter, the Genealogist hath made no more Kings in both Races, than the Historians make in the last Race from *Fergus* the Second. And therefore the Doctor is as culpable in

Lib. 2. cap. 60.

shortning the Royal Line, as the
 Bishop of *St. Asaph*. He adds also,
 that *Forden* mentions another Ge-
 nealogy of *St. David*, made at the
 time of his death, which ought not
 to be attributed to *Baldred*, but to
Cardinal Walter Wardlaw, which
 exactly agrees with that of the
Highlander, except in the spelling
 of some few names from *Fergus the*
second upwards, in *Fergus the first*.
 But the latter part of the Genea-
 logy from *St. David* to *Fergus the*
second, being corrupted before *Fer-*
den's time, he would not have it
 stand in Record against his History,
 but cut it off with an *Et* from *Da-*
vid to *Fergus*, which Caution he
 forgot, when he did specially insert
 the *Highlander's* Genealogy from
Alexander the third, to *Fergus the*
second. This is the meaning, as near
 as I can understand, of the Doctor's
 words, being in themselves some-
 what perplexed. But the Doctor takes
 notice of a third Genealogy in *Eng-*
ish, which supplies, in some measure,
 the defects of that of King *David*,
 and it is the Succession of *Alfred*,
 the

the first Monarch of *Scotland*; and there he takes notice of the difference betwixt the Genealogy and our Historians. For he acknowledges that he doth agree with the *Highland Genealogy*, except that it hath *Duglas* the Son of *Donald* *Brig*, which the *Highlander* doth omit, and makes only ten Kings betwixt *Fergus* and *Kenneth*, whereas our Historians make twenty eight.

In Answer to this objection, I shall follow the method of the *Highland Genealogist*, which proceeds ascending from *Alexander the third*, and the Nature of the objection it self, which insists most upon the difference in the Genealogist from our Historians as to the second Line, there being no objection made as to the first; except as to some small difference in the names; and the only considerable difference is betwixt *Struanus* and *Canafacus*, which will easily be cleared in answer to the objection against the second Line. And though the Race and Line be the same with *Fergus* downwards; yet with the Doctor

we shall make an Imaginary distinction of first and second Race. And first; as I applaud the Doctor, who hath better thoughts of *Fordun* (than the Bishop had, who asserted him to have dreamed the History of our Kings) that he was so cautious, as not to set down the accounts that were imparted to him otherwise than in his sleep, because he could not give a full account of them; so I must likewise vindicate *Beetb*, who in his History hath neither differed from, nor contradicted *Fordun*, nor any other of these mentioned Genealogies. For as to *Fordun*, though he gives not a particular account of the Names, times and Actions of all the Kings betwixt the *Ferguses*, yet he doth not profess, that he could find nothing in particular concerning them, as appears by the words cited by the Doctor himself: *Sed & horum Singillatim distinguere tempora principum ad præsentem mittimus, nam ad plenum scriptum non reperimus.* For here he tells the full number of our Kings, and five more, which may be true by taking in of *Fergus*.

Which is not
Lib. 4. but L. 3.

Fergus's Father and Grand-father, and some other three Collaterals omitted by other Historians ; and that they reigned in the Isle, and not in *Ireland*. Only he forbears at present to distinguish the time of their Reigns, not having then gotten a full account of them, which he seems thereby to insinuate he expected before he finished his Book, wherein he was prevented by death. But as he left Materials for the last and great part of his Book, so he might have increased the first part of his Book in distinguishing these particular Reigns. But it is likely, these Authors he cites, viz. *Legenda Brendani, Cengalli, Gressum caput*, and the several *Chronica*, had nothing concerning these Kings ; or that *Fordun* himself had found nothing particular concerning them, when he knew so well their Genealogy, both upon the occasion of the death of *St. David*, and the Coronation of King *Alexander*. And as he gives the account of the most considerable Persons, as *Fergus, Reuther, Eugenius*, so he distinguisheth their

Lib. 2. c. 12, 13. 55. and lib. 2. c. 1. Et in brevi Recapitulacione.

times, and tells how long the whole
Kings reigned, and gives Disticks con-
taining the Periods of their Reigns:

*Albion in terris Rex primus gar-
mine Sepas, in quo in new,
Illarum turris rubra, et alia
Leonis
Fergusus fulvus, Harbard rugiens
in aruo, in quo in new,
Christum trecentis tractus, pra-
fuit annis.*

And in the place cited by the
Doctor, he asserts, that the forty five
Kings were *eiusdem generis* *Engantur*
and Fergus's return is set down

*Ad natale solum properat releuare
jacentes,
Rex fessos regni cespita sospes
adit
Intrepidus propria pandens vexilla
Leonis,
Terruit occursum quem fera nulla
ferox.
Ocyus aduenit, fuerat qua turbing
diro
Subdita plebs, X quater & tri-
bus hac*

Congaudens

*Anglicani patri Regi servire,
 et separatim libertatem quicquid in orbe
 desiderat.*

*And again, Fergusus universas
 Regni regiones, eis utraque partem
 Scotie a patribus ab antiquo pos-
 sessas, de muro lapideis, viz. Inchi-
 gall ad Insulas Orcades sub sua cura
 posuit ditare.* Doth the Doctor
 think, that this was to profess, that
 he could find nothing concerning
 them, and that after him, *Boeth* could
 make no distinct and particular ac-
 count of that Succession, unless he
 feigned them for some partial end?

But to come to the *Highland*
Genealogist, there is no difference
 betwixt him and our *Historians*: for
 though his number be fewer than
 that in our Records and *Histories*,
 yet the reason is, because our *Histo-*
rians mention all that did Reign,
 whether by Right or by Usurpation,
 or whether in the Direct or Collate-
 ral Line; the *Genealogist* doth as-
 pend from *Alexander the Third* from
 Son to Father in the direct Line,
 considering

considering that Line onely, where
of that King was descended, amongst
whom some were never Kings. The
Genealogist begins, *Alexander* the Son,
of *Alexander*, the Son of *William*,
the Son of *Henry*, the Son of *David*.

Here the Doctor objects, that
Malcolm the Fourth the *Maiden* men-
tioned by our Historians, is omitted,
and *Henry* placed for him. But this

Ford. l. 8. c. 1.
L. 1. c. 39. l. 12,
13, 14. fol. 48.
57. l. 9. passim.
Boeth. l. 11, 12.
13. & 14. passim.
Boeth. lib. 7, 8,
& 9. passim.
Left. lib. 6, & 7.
passim.

was very reasonable: for *St. David*
had onely one Son *Henry* Earl of
Northumberland, who died before his
Father: and so was never King, but
left three Sons: *Malcolm* the Fourth,
who succeeded his Grand-father, and
was called *Maiden*; he never mar-
ried, and he had for his Successour
William his second Brother, Grand-
father to King *Alexander*, in whom
also the Race of that Brother failed.
And then from *David* Earl of *Hun-*
tingdon, the third Brother by the
Families of *Beau* and *Stuart*, the
Royal Race is continued in a direct
Line till King *James* the Seventh,
who now Reigns. So then, if the
Genealogist had said, that *William*
was Son to his Brother *Malcolm* the
Maiden,

Maiden, and not Son to *Henry* his Father, instead of agreeing with our Histories, he had both contradicted them and common Sense and Reason.

The Doctor next complains, that betwixt *Malcolm*, *Cannore* and *St. David* four of our Kings are omitted, and; we say, very justly for the same Reason: for *Donald* the Seventh was *Malcolm's* Brother, and *Duncan* his Bastard Son, none of whom had right to Reign. And though *Malcolm* had two elder Sons, *Edgar* and *Alexander* the First, who did successively Reign, yet they having no Children of their own, the Succession did devolve upon *St. David* the youngest Son.

The third Objection is, that betwixt *Duncan*, and *Malcolm Cannore* the Historians put *Machabean*, whom the Genealogist omits, and very reasonably: for he was a Collateral by *Devada* Second Daughter to *Malcolm* the Second, and usurped the Succession before *Malcolm Cannore*, who was Son of *Duncan*, and was great Grand-child to *Malcolm*

the

Ford. lib. 5. at the beginning.
Maj. lib. 2. c. 5.
Boeth. lib. 12.
Bach. l. 7. l. 5.

the Second by his eldest Daughter *Beatrice*, whom the Genealogist inserts, though she was never a Queen, because by her the Succession was continued.

The Doctor's fourth and main Objection is, that betwixt *Malcolm the Second* and *Kenneth the Son of *effra**, the Genealogist inserts none, whereas our Historians insert thirteen; viz. *Donald the Fifth*, *Constantine Second*, *Erlus* surnamed *Alles*, *Gregory the Great*, *Donald the Sixth*, *Constantine the Third*, *Malcolm the First*, *Indulphus*, *Duffus*, *Calevus*, *Kenneth the Third*, *Constantine the Fourth*, *Grinnis*. Here indeed I acknowledge the Doctor hath discovered an Errour; but I think it must be of the Writer, or at worst in the *Highland* Genealogist his Memory or Expressions. And it is very happy, that it hath fallen out in this place, otherwise *Forbes* as well as *Boeth* might be suspected of partiality, or that they inserted these Kings to serve their own ends: For even the Doctor's worthy Antiquaries *Ubbo Emmius* and *Boxhornius*, who

who have deserved so well of him, because they are most injuriously extravagant; as to the Antiquity of our Kings, do admit the truth of this Genealogy, after *Kenneth* who subdued the *Picts*. There are four indeed here omitted in the direct Line; *Constantine* the second Son to *Kenneth* the Second; *Donald* the Sixth; *Malcolm* the First; *Kenneth* the Third; *Malcolm* the Second's Father: Besides nine Collateral, viz. *Donald* the fifth Brother to *Kenneth* the Second; *Ethus Alphei*; *Constantine* the Second's Brother; *Gregory* Son to *Dougall*; *Constantine* the Third Son to *Ethus*; *Indulphus* *Constantine* the Third's Son; *Duffus*; *Malcolm* the First his eldest Son; *Culen*; *Indulphus* his Son; *Constantine* the Fourth *Culen*'s his Son, and *Grinus*, *Duffus* his Son, who were all Collateral to *Malcolm* the Second. I shall give a very probable account of the mistake of the Genealogist in this place. We see that it is twice *Kenneth* and *Malcolm*; *Kenneth* the Second and *Malcolm* the First; and *Kenneth* the Third, who was Father to *Malcolm* the

the Second. The Transcriber hath thought, he had transcribed the First *Kenneth* and *Malcolm*, and *Constance*, and *Donald* that were betwixt them, and so hath omitted them, and proceeded to *Kenneth* the Third, who was Father to *Malcolm* the Second. As in reading or writing, if two Lines begin with one word, the Reader or Writer ordinarily omitteth one of the Lines by mistake. And as this was no design in *Forden*, so it could not be ignorance: for he describes particularly all those omitted Kings, and there is also a particular Genealogy of them subjoyn'd to the end of *Forden's* Book in the Genealogy of King *James* the Second. And if any man make a History of persons, and draw out a Summary of their Genealogy, if there be any difference, the Summary must be regulated by the History, and not the History by the Summary.

The Doctor's fifth Objection is, that betwixt *Alpin* and *Achuis* the Historians put *Conuallus* and *Dougallus*; and very reasonably, because *Conuallus* was *Fergus's* third Son, and

and *Dougallus* was *Solvatbin's* Son, and so Collateral, to shew the exactness of our Historians, as well in the Collateral, as in the direct Line. The degree of Proximity of every Person is proved by our Historians from *Kenneth* the Second till *Fergus* the Second.

Ford. lib. 3. c. 4.
Maj. lib. 3.
Boeth. lib. 2. c. 9.
10. Buch. lib. 3.

The next Objection is, the difference betwixt the Genealogist and our Historians, from King *Othabin* Son of *Aydan*, whom *Fordon* calls *Ethodine bind*, and our Historians, *Eugenius* (a Grand difference indeed) and *Athain* the Second Son of *Bisn*, who was Son of *Eugenius* the Seventh, who was Son of *Findan*, who was never King, Son of *Eugenius* the Fifth, Son of *Dougard* never King, second Son to *Donald Braik*, second Son to *Eugenius bin*; For here there is both difference of Kings, and many omitted. It is true, that here there is the like Error committed in transcribing with the former: for the Genealogist, betwixt *Eugenius* the Seventh, (whom he calls *Arbac*) and *Donald Braik*, he omits *Dougard*, *Eugenius* the Fifth; and *Fordon's* Genealogy

Genealogy of *Namur* the Great, to *Fergus* the Second, mentions *Dongard*, but omits *Eugenius* and *Findan*. Which error of the Writer seems to have proceeded, because there are two of the name of *Eugenius* so near together, that he thought, when he wrote *Eugenius*, he had written all that had preceded *Eugenius* the Seventh, and did the more easily forget *Dongard* and *Findan*, because they were not so well known, as never having been Kings. But the mistake cannot be interpreted to be a design, seeing there is no advantage in it, and it is in omitting and not in adding any that never were of the right Line, and falls happily out, where our Antiquity is not questioned by any but by *Ubbó Emmius*, and *Boxhornius*. For even *Jocelin* and *St. Asaph* do acknowledge the Scots to have been settled under *Aydan* mentioned by *Beda*, as the Father of this *Echadus* kind. And the Doctor himself does settle this Scepticism concerning the Original of the Settlement of the Scots in Britain under *Aydan*, in the beginning

ginning of the Seventh Century; but is uncertain, if, or how much longer before that time. And it could not be ignorance in *Fordon*, who describes all the particular Reigns of these Kings. And in the opinion of *Beerb*, *Findan* is not omitted; for he makes *Eugenius* the Seventh not to be Grand-child to *Eugenius* the Fifth by *Findan*, but immediately Son to *Eugenius* the Fifth. The rest of these intervening Kings were Collaterals, viz. *Ferchard* the Second Son of *Ferchard* the First, *Malduine* eldest Son to *Donald Brak*, *Eugenius* the Sixth *Ferchard*'s second Son, *Amberkeleth* *Findan*'s eldest Son, *Murdaeth* his Son, *Eugenius* the Eighth and *Solvathius*, these four lineally descending from one another in the Collateral Line; *Fergus* the Third eldest Son of *Esfu* and elder Brother to *Acbain*, *Ethas*, or *Ethacbi*, or whether *Esfu* or *Ethafud*. But I cannot remark, that the Genealogist calls *Ethafud* Son to *Ethdre*, but he calls him Son to *Ethacbi*; or that the Genealogist calls *Eugenius* *Ethac*. Indeed the Genealogist calls him

K

Ethachi,

Esbachi, whom *Ferdon* in the Genealogy of *Kenneth* calls *Eugenius*. But these are idle remarks. His Objection betwixt *Fergus* the Second and *Eugenius* the Fourth is, that the Genealogist makes *Dongall* to succeed *Fergus*, and leaves out *Eugenius* the Second; very reasonable indeed, because *Eugenius* the Second though eldest Son, had no Succession, and to *Dongard Cobren* succeeds, and to him *Aydan* the Father of *Eugenius*. And there are left out from amongst our Kings mentioned by our Historians *Constantine* the First, whom the Doctor calls *Constantius*, because he was *Dongard's* younger Brother, and *Congallus* *Dongard's* eldest Son, because he did not continue the Line, his Line being extinct after the Death of *Eugenius* the Third, *Corvallis* and *Kinnatell* his three Sons, and *Kenneth* the first Son to *Corvallis* his Grand-child. But the Doctor makes no mention of *Kenneth*, but in place of him saith, that *Conranus* is omitted by the Genealogist, as if *Conranus* and *Cobrenus* might not pass for one.

Against

Against the first Race, his Objections are much lighter, and so I shall not be so special in giving Answer. His noticing the difference of names is very pretty, betwixt *Arnidal* and *Dornadill*, *Rown* and *Rether*, not *Nothatus*, as the Doctor mistakes (for *Nothatus* being *Dornadill*'s Brother a Collateral, he is left by the Genealogist as such) and *Rurba* for *Reada*, and *Tber* for *Therens*, and *Rosne* for *Josin*, and *Corbre* for *Corbred*, and *Daradimore* for *Dardanus*, and that *Corbre*'s Surname of *Galdus* was forgot; and *Lutbach* for *Lutacus*, and *Mogalama* for *Mogallus*, and *Coner* for *Canarus*, *Etbach* for *Echodius*, and *Fiachrach* for *Satrahell*, and *Athirkin* for *Athirco*, *Findachar* for *Findochus*, *Thrinkline* for *Crathilinthus*, *Fencarmach* for *Fincarmachus*, *Romaich* for *Romachus*, and *Enegussa*, which the Doctor acknowledgeth is plainly *Angustianus*, though it be not so plain as many others of the rest he Quarrels, *Feshelmach* for *Feshelmachus*, and *Engusach* and *Esheat* for *Eugenius* and *Echodius*, *Erthas* for *Eirch*. And

So to have named this Objection is to refute it, being the difference onely betwixt a *Latine* Termination and a *Vulgar*, betwixt a *Highland* and a *Lowland*. And if he will take the pains to compare, how these same Names are written in *Fordon*, and how in *Major*, he will find the like difference. And if he will not rest satisfied, he is referred to *Flahertie* in his Preface for a fuller Answer. But *Feritharis* and King *Donald*, the first Christian King, and *Nathalocus*, and other two *Donalds* are excluded by this ancient Genealogists; and very reasonably, because *Feritharis* was Brother to King *Fergus* the First; and *Donald*, because he was Brother to *Satrael*. *Nathalocus* was an Usurper, concerning whose Contingency of blood, our Historians generally make no mention; all the Collaterals proved by *Boeth**, *Buchanan*† and *Lesly*||. And the Doctor himself, in his Preface acknowledgeth, that *Nathalocus* and *Donald* were Usurpers, and so could not be mentioned in the Genealogy of the right Line;

* Lib. 2. 5, & 6.

L. 4.

† Lib. 2. & 3.

|| Pag. 10.

Line; *Donald* the Third called of the Isles, an *Usurper*, and *Donald* the Second Brother to *Findoch*. And what though the Genealogist by mistake hath called *Rosin* the Son of *Ther*, when he was his Brother? and *Etbodius* the Son of *Eugenius*, when he was his Brother? If the Genealogist had mentioned all our Kings that did Reign, and had called the next always Son to the former King, he had committed this Error oftner. And it hath not been *Fordon's* ignorance: for he tells that *Etbodius* was Brother to *Eugenius*. But the Doctor says, After this you find a greater difference: for instead of *Finnanus*, *Durstus*, *Evenus*, *Gillus*, *Evenus* the Second, *Ederus*, *Evenus* the Third, *Metellanus*, *Caratacus*, we find there onely *Detbach*, *Jau*, *Aljelab*, *Even*, *Ederskeoli*, *Comermore*. It seems, the Doctor hath taken this at second hand; for if he had looked either the Genealogy of King *Alexander* or King *David*, he would have found *Fin*, which is the same with *Finnanus*. But the Doctor might have known, that such a small

difference in names and numbers
 doth not overthrow the verity of a
 Genealogy from his Friend *Flabertie*
 in his Epistle to *Jo. Lincens*, who
 takes the name of *Lucius Gratiannus*
 in *Cambr. everf.* as in the Genealogy
 of the Scripture *Cainan* is interpo-
 sed betwixt *Arphaxad* and *Sala*, who
 tells, that such like Errours may pro-
 ceed from one Person's having two
 names, or by taking a Brother for a
 Father, or the like mistake of the
 Writer; where the Line may be
 a little lengthned or shortned, the
 Tract of it remaining the same. But
 here, besides the difference of *Higb-*
land and *Lowland* Language, where-
 in *Alexander* is called *Alaster*, and
Archibald Gillespie, *Gillus* was a Ba-
 stard Usurper, and *Evenus* a Collate-
 ral to *Durftus*, as appears by our
 Historians *Boeth*, *Buchanan* and *Lefly*.
 As to the Genealogy of *St. David*,
 it is subjoyn'd immediately to *Bal-*
dredus his Lamentation about him;
 and, whether it be his, or Cardinal
Wardlaw's, it furnisheth still ano-
 ther ancient and more credible Au-
 thour, a Cardinal. But perhaps he
 was

was not Cardinal, when he told *Porden* the Genealogy, but thereafter, and the Transcriber of the *Scoticronicon* hath given him his most honourable Name. And though he died in *Robert* the First of the *Stuarts* time, yet he was *Archidiaconus* of *Lothian*, and Secretary to King *David* the Bruce, as appears by the * *Scoticronicon*. And * *Lib. 14. cap.* *Porden* saith of the account from 27. him, *Dudum acceperat*, and prefixeth a Preface, in which he asserts, that *St. David* was descended from a Glorious and ancient Race of Kings, who had preserv'd their Kingdom free from Slavery longer than any other Race of Kings had done, and had resisted or expelled all such Enemies as had invaded them.

Post Britones, Dacos, Pictos, Anglosque repulsos,

Viriliter Scoti jus tenuere suum;
Et Romanorum spreverunt vim validorum,

Exemplo quorum pensarunt præteritum

Inclita Scotorum proles laudem genitorum.

This doth not agree with the Doctor's Origin of us after the Saxons, and our dependance upon them. This *Wardlaw* Bishop of *Glasgow* is design'd in *Scotichronicon* Cardinal of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the account and Verses appear to be far ancients, than either *Wardlaw* or *Fordon*, otherwise *Fordon* had hardly ever cited the Relation of one Contemporary with himself, and of one who was perhaps a younger man. And as to the Pretence, that the passing from the first Line before *Fergus* the Second will cut off the Pretence of establishing the Regents, and incapacitating the Sons of Kings being *Minors*, This appears evidently to be false. For long after *Fergus* the Second's time, the Collaterals did certainly succeed, till that evil Custome was abrogated by *Kenneth* the Third, about 700 years agoe. And albeit many Murthers and Encroachments were committed upon these Kings of the first Race, their times being more barbarous, what is that to the purpose? Were they there-
fore

fore never in being, or not Kings? Doth not *Flabertie* tell us, that of the first hundred thirty six Kings of Ireland; *Centum ferrum sustulit, septemdecim naturæ concesserunt, sex pestu absumpsit; tres fulmine percussit, & decem diversis aliis modis, singuli vivis excefferunt*? Were there not Murthers and Usurpations in our second Race, and hath not the like been every where? And doth not the Doctor remember of *Richard* the Third of *England*, who murdered *Edward* the Fifth and his Brother, who were his own Nephews, and usurped the Crown? And the inserting these, to lengthen the Line in favour of Regents, had been ridiculous: for by a clear Law these were cut off in *Kenneth* the Third's time; and so our Historians needed not the help of forged Genealogies in this. So that I can see no Design nor Politick in *Fordon* nor *Boeth*, in this number and account they give of our Kings, nor that they have differed from the Genealogist, nor that the *Highland* Genealogist hath shortned the Royal Line, as the Bishop

Bishop of *St. Asaph* hath done. And the Doctor ought to have remembered, that I did undertake onely to maintain the Antiquity of our Royal Line at the least; to refute the Bishop of *St. Asaph's Hyperbess*, of a Settlement in the Year 503, and not to vindicate every passage and part of our History which cannot be done, as to any profane History.

By all which I may conclude most convincingly, that these three accounts given of the Genealogies of our Kings are so far from Contradicting our History, that they agree with it, and being inserted in three several Genealogies, prior to *Fordon*, and being exprest by them upon very solemn occasions they do fortifie much the truth of the Genealogy of the Royal Line, and that *Fordon* did not dream the same, but inserted these Genealogies in his History from good Authours and by good Authority.

The Reader may for his better understanding the Answers formerly made, take a general view of this complex matter, as sum'd up in these short Positions.

I. That

I. That the *Highland* Gentleman was obliged to ascend from Son to Father, as all Genealogies do; and consequently he was obliged to name some who were not Kings, because they were Fathers to Kings.

II. He was obliged to omit Collaterals, because, though they were Kings, yet they were not such as were comprehended within the Gradation from Son to Father, whereas our History rightly sets down those who succeeded as Brothers, as well as Sons.

III. In this Genealogy some are omitted, as Bastards, and other Ufurpers; and so should not have been insert in a Genealogy to be repeated before the King, though they were likewise expressed in our Histories, they having Reigned *de facto*, though not *de jure*.

IV. The greatest doubt, that is made by the Doctor himself, as to our Kings, is since *Fergus* the Second, after which, the *Irish* and others acknowledge our Historical Genealogy; or after *Kenneth* the Second, since which time even
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Ubbo Emmius does assert the truth of our History. And so any difference betwixt our History and Genealogy must arise from the mistake of the Genealogist's memory, or the Transcriber's negligence; and I have condescended upon a probable Ground of mistake.

V. Most of the Difficulties arise from the difference of Names of the same Persons, which is very ordinary in all Genealogies.

VI. There could be no Design in our Historians inserting any to favour the Right of Regents: for the Succession of Regents was condemn'd by a positive Law, before some of these controverted Kings did succeed.

VII. It is not imaginable, that our Historians would insert in their Histories contradictory Genealogies: for that were so palpable, that, though it could have escaped one Historian, yet it could not have escaped many.

VIII. To illustrate farther the whole matter, I have subjoyned the Tree of *Alexander* the Third his Prede-

Predecessours, both in the Direct and Collateral Line, whereby it doth evidently appear, that all his Predecessours mentioned by the Genealogist were in the direct Line, and that these Kings of whom the Genealogist made no mention, were onely Collaterals to King *Alexander*; whose Genealogy was recited. And I have also farther continued this Genealogy in a direct Line from St. *David* by the Families of *Bruce*, and *Stuart* to King *James* the Seventh, who now Reigns.

C H A P.

CHAP. V.

The Irish Genealogy of our Kings compared with the accounts given by the Chronicle of Melrofs, and both compared with the Genealogies contained in our Histories; with a full proof, that our Historians are to be preferred to the Irish Annals as to this point: Ogygia examin'd.

I Having urg'd, that our Historians were to be believed in matters of fact, such as are the Genealogies of our Kings, they being many, and Men of Authority; and having declared, that they extracted their Histories from Authentick Records, though now lost: And these matters of fact being probable in themselves, and adminiculated by the current of Foreign Histories and Authours, except our Adversaries should redargue them by Authours living in the time, or more credible, which were inconsistent with them.

The

The Doctor did therefore urge the inconsistency of our Genealogies amongst themselves, which I have fully answered in the preceding Chapter, and their inconsistency with the *Irish* Annals, which he contends are to be preferred to ours, We being descended from the *Irish*, and they having more ancient Annals than ours; which I am to answer in this Chapter. And, for the preference of our Histories in the point of Credibility, I adduce these following Arguments.

1. No History can be discredited, as uncertain and fabulous, upon the Testimony and Authority of another History, except that other History be acknowledg'd by both the Debaters; but much less, where it is reprobated by him, who urges an Argument from it. But so it is, that Dr. *Stillingfleet* himself does treat the *Irish* Annals in Ridicule, as to the remote part of their Antiquity, in his Preface, page 33. and Chap. 5. p. 272. where he proves, that they had not sufficient Warrants before
 the Pref. p. 47.

the Eleventh Century, which is long after the time, wherein both the Bishop of St. *Asaph* and he acknowledges that we were settled here. And consequently the Authority of their History is not sufficient to overturn the time of our settlement, as it is asserted by our Historians.

2. We desire to know, what Warrants the *Irish* had within six Generations of *Japhet*? Especially to warrant them, not onely to condescend upon particular actions, mentioned, and adminiculated by no other Histories, but even to be special in the coming of some from *Ireland*, just 40 days before the Flood. And that *Partholanus*, and others, arrived in *Ireland*, Anno 312. after the Flood, in the month of *May*, the 14th of the Moon, and upon *Wednesday*. And how the Doctor should urge this History against ours, as sufficient to overturn the credibillity of ours, when he will not allow us to know so much, as when our Nation at first settled in *Scotland*, and who was our first King, about

Ogyg. part 3.
cap. 1.

Ogyg. part 3.
cap. 2.

2000 years after that time, when the *Romans*, who lived long in our Neighbourhood, in *France*, and fought long with us, are acknowledged to have had the use of Letters, and the way of calculating time : both which were absolutely unknown in the Ages mentioned in the *Irish* Annals. And either the *Irish* had the exact knowledge of Letters, and the calculation of time, when our first Colonies came over from them, or not : If they had them ; why not we likewise ? and so the Doctor does unjustly object to us, that our Histories are not to be believed, because we wanted both these. Or if the *Irish* had them not, our History cannot be overturned by the Authority of theirs.

3. It's acknowledg'd by all the *Irish*, except *Jocelin* ; that we were at least settled here since the Year 503. and so since that time we must understand the History and descent of our own Kings better than any other Nation can doe ; nor should any man debate with these that

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deny this principle. But so it is, that since that time, the *Irish* account of the descent of our Kings differs extremely from ours; for they will have *Loarn* to have been our first King, and elder Brother to *Fergus*, whereas our Story makes no mention at all of any such King, but makes *Fergus the Second* the Restorer of our Monarchy. And their Catalogue calls him *Fergusius Magnus*, a title never given to him who founds, but to him who augments the Monarchy. And how can any man imagine, that a Nation would have forgot who was the Founder of their Monarchy, and being so late, and yet have remembered his Brothers, and all the rest of the Line; especially since *Loarn* is said to have reign'd ten years, as *Offlahartie* says. We make *Eugenius* the Second to have succeeded to this King *Fergus*, but they make *Domangardus* to have succeeded to him.

They make *Congallus* to have succeeded to *Domangardus*; but we make *Constantine* the First to have suc-

succeeded to *Dongardus*, whom I conceive they make *Domangardus*.

To our *Corranus*, whom he calls *Gouranus*, did succeed *Eugenius* the Third; but he makes *Conallus* to have succeeded to him.

To *Congallus* succeeded truly *Kenatellus*, but he makes *Aydanus* to have succeeded to him.

To *Aydanus* succeeded *Keneth* the First, but he makes *Acbains* the First to have succeeded to him.

The differences after him, will best appear in these Columns, which may likewise be observed from the beginning of this period.

The Genealogy as in our Histories from *Fergus* II. to *Murdoch*.

Fergus
Eugenius II. eldest Son,
Dongardus the second Son of
Fergus the Second.
Constanine I. third Son, all
 three Sons of *Fergus*.
Congallus I. *Dongardus*'s Son,
Gouranus *Dongardus*'s Son.
Eugenius III. *Congallus*'s Son;
Congallus II. *Congallus*'s Son;
Kenatellus *Congallus*'s Son.
Aydanus *Gouranus*'s Son.

The Genealogy as in the Irish from *Loarn* to *Murdoch*.

II. *Loarn* eldest Son, and
Fergusus Magnus second Son to
Erik,
Domangardus Son to *Fergusus*;
Congallus *Domangardus*'s Son.
 II. *Gouranus* *Congallus*'s Brother.
Conallus *Congallus*'s Son.
Aydanus *Gouranus*'s Son.
Acbains I. *Aydanus*'s Son.
Conadinus *Acbains*'s Son.
Firghardus I. *Conadinus*'s Son.
 L 2 *Kenaribus*

Kennethus I. Conallus's Son.
Eugenius IV. Aidanus's Son.
Ferchardus I. Eugenius's Son.
Donald IV. Eugenius's 2d. Son.
Ferchard II. Ferchard's Son.
Malduinus Donald's Grandchild
by Dongard no King.
Eugenius V. Donald's Son.
Eugenius VI. Ferchard's Son.
Amberkelethus Findan's Son, who
was Son to Eugenius.
Eugenius VII. Brother to Am-
berkelethus.
And then Murdachus Amberkele-
thus's Son.

Donaldus I. Brother to Ferchard.
Conallus II. Achais's Son.
Dungallus I. Donald Brec's Son.
Donaldus H. Conallus's Son.
Malduinus Conallus's Son.
Ferchardus II.
Achais II. Grandchild of Do-
nald I. by his Son Dongard.
Amberkelethus Son of Ferchard II.
Selwathus Brother to Amberkele-
thus.
Achais III. Son of Achais II.
Muridachus Son of Amberkele-
thus.

So that, comparing *Flabertie's* ac-
 count with ours, we shall find them
 to differ in names, the times of their
 Reign, and Degrees of their Con-
 sanguinity, the *Irish* omitting some
 who did Reign, and inserting others
 who never Reign'd, or at least, who
 Reign'd not near these times, in
 which they are placed.

My fourth Argument shall be;
 That after the Year 503 we are ac-
 knowledged to be settled, and to have
 had a distinct Kingdom from *Ire-*
land, and to have had the learned
 Monastery of *Icolmkill*, from
 which Swarms of learned Men were
 sent to all places; But especially to
 the

the Saxons in *Lindesfarne*, to whom *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman* were sent Bishops, as *St. Asaph* and *Flabertie* acknowledge. And therefore it cannot be denied, but that our Histories must be much better believed, than either the *Irish* Annals, or the Chronicle of *Melrofs*, though they agreed in what they differed from our Histories; But much more, when they contradict one another; especially when their differences are very considerable. And since the Chronicle of *Melrofs* is judged so Authentick by the Bishop and the Doctor; it must be concluded, that, when that Chronicle differs very much from the *Irish*, and comes near to ours, ours must be preferred to the *Irish* in point of Credibility. But so it is that all this will appear by comparing the three, in so far as concerns the Genealogies of our Kings, from *Murdachus*, to *Kenneth* the Second.

By our Histories and Genealogies, *Murdachus* was Son to *Amberkellethus*, and began to Reign Anno Christi 715, whereas by the Chronicle of *Mailrofs* he is made the Son of *Ewan* as he was indeed Successour

Chron. Mail.
p. 136. edit.
Oxon. 1684.

QVE. p. 480.

to *Ewan*, or *Eugenius* his Uncle, though not his Son, and he is called *Murizant*, and he is said there to begin his Reign *Anno 741*. But by the *Irisb* Catalogue of the *Scatish* Kings in *Ogygia*, his Reign is said to begin *Anno 733*.

By our History, *Etfnus*, Son to *Eugenius*, begun his Reign *Anno 730*. By the Chronicle, *Ewen*, Son to *Murizant*, *Anno 744*. By the Catalogue, *Dongallus* Son of *Selvachus*, is said to succeed his Cousin German *Murdaebus*, *Anno 736*. Whereas *Dongallus* did not succeed till the Year 824. Nor did *Solvarbins* succeed till the Year 767.

To *Etfn* succeeded *Eugenius*, who began to Reign *Anno 761*. according to our History. By the Chronicle, *Hedobbus*, the Son of *Ewen*, succeeded to *Ewen*, *Anno 747*. By the Catalogue *Acbatus* the Fourth succeeded to *Dongall*, *Anno 743*, and *Offlabattie* the Authour of the Catalogue subjoyns to this King an observation, that in divers Copies of this Poem or Catalogue, *Selvachus*, *Acbatus* the Third, *Acbatus* the Fourth, and

and *Achais* the Fifth, and *Gregory* are wanting; which shews, of how small Authority this Poem or Catalogue should be: for *Achais* and *Gregory* are two of the most considerable, and uncontroversed of all our Kings in these Periods. For *Achais* did make the League with *Charlemain*, and is mentioned in many Histories beside ours. And *Gregory* lived after the time of *Kenneth* the Second, and is surnamed the Great, because of the Victory over the *Britains*, *Irish* and *Saxons*, and this is acknowledged, and is cited as such in the famous debate betwixt us and the *English* before the Pope. *Selwachus* also is acknowledged by the Chronicle of *Mailross*. But the secret and true Reason of this suggestion is, that he might obviate the objection from the difference of the number, and suppress *Achais*, because they will have the League not to be made with him, but with the *Irish*; and *Gregory*, because he invaded *Ireland*. O! How witty are these Contrivances.

To *Eugenius* succeeded *Fergus* the Third, who began his reign Anno 764. By the Chronicle 10 *Hed* succeeded *Fergus* his Son, Anno 777. By the Catalogue, *Aidus* *fin* the First, corrupted *Ethfin*, succeeded to *Achais* the Fourth his Father, Anno 748. whereas truly *Achais* was not Father to *Ethfin*; but *Ethfin* was Father to *Achais*.

According to the Catalogue there are nine Kings without any special Chronology from 778 to 838; viz.	Our Kings from <i>Fergus</i> 3 to <i>Kenneth</i> 2, are by our Historians.	According to the Chronicle of <i>Maitros</i> .
<i>Donall</i>	<i>Selyarbin.</i>	<i>Selyand.</i>
<i>Cohall</i>	<i>Achais.</i>	<i>Echall.</i>
<i>Cohall</i>	<i>Congallus.</i>	<i>Dungall.</i>
<i>Constantine</i>	<i>Dongallus.</i>	<i>Alpine</i> the Son of <i>Echall</i> , which shews that <i>Echall</i> was <i>Achais</i> , and then
<i>Aneas.</i>	<i>Alpinus</i> and then	<i>Kined</i> Son to <i>Alpin.</i>
<i>Aidus</i>	<i>Kenneth</i>	
<i>Eugemans</i> <i>Aneas</i> Son.		
<i>Achais</i> fifth Son of <i>Aidus</i> .		
<i>Alpine</i> the Son of <i>Achais</i> , and then <i>Kenneth</i> <i>Alpine</i> 's Son.		

Here are many Kings, of whom the Nation, where they are said to have Reigned in a very late and uncontroverted time, know nothing, and in which the *Irish* not onely differ

differ from us; but also from the Chronicle of *Maileaf*, which seems to have been written by some *English* Borderers, who though they have somewhat carelessly observed what was doing among us; yet because of their Neighbourhood and Commerce, have understood the same better than the *Irish*.

It's likewise observable, that by Collationing that Period of the Genealogy of our Kings, from *Fergus* 2 to *Malcolm* 3; the *Irish* Catalogue in *Ogygia*, allows from the 503 to the 1057, being 554 years for 51 Kings which is very short, whereas we allow from the 404 to 1057, being 653 years for 46 Kings, which is far more probable in it self, and more agreeable to the Doctor's observation, who allows twenty five years to a Generation, according to the most received opinion; whereas this Calculation allows onely ten years, and about ten Months to every King, even in those ancient times when Men lived long. And whereas it is still objected against *Hector Boethius*, that he augmented the number of our Kings,

Prof. p. 25.

Kings, by inserting Collaterals to support the Law of incapacity; and to make the long account of time seem probable. It's answered, that this objection is fully satisfied, both by the Authority of the Chronicle of *Mailross*, and this *Irish* Catalogue, which insert Collaterals, as well as those of the direct Line. And if all these Kings named by them had been in the direct Line, that great number of fifty two joy-ned with the Collaterals, had made the number of our Kings in that Period to have come near to an hundred, and thus each King to have had about six years allow'd him.

I had not fully considered the *Irish* Genealogies when I insisted upon that Argument from *Carbre Lifachair*, and now I acknowledge that my own Argument from that Book was of no moment, and to shew my ingenuity I pass from it. But the reason why I said then, that there might be a hundred years allowed for a Man's Life, is because the Civil Law allows so much, and a Man is never presumed to be dead, till it
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is proved he lived an hundred years; but I confess the Doctor's Calculation from *Censurus*, of what makes a Generation, holds ordinarily true; and is to be preferred in the accounts of Genealogy.

My fifth Argument against the *Irish* Genealogy is, That it differs not onely from ours and from that account in the Abbacy of *Mailross*, but from all the *French* Historians, and our ancient Records yet extant; by which it is clear, that our King *Achaius* entred in League with the *French* King *Charlemain*: whereas the exact *Offlabartie*, makes onely this *French* League to have been entred into with *Charles* the Sixth in the Year 1380, which fell in the time of King *Robert* the Second, and adds, that this League was made by *Robert Stewart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, in which he confounds two known Stories, that he may contradict *Wardens* his Countreyman; for it is indeed true, that the ancient League was renewed with King *Robert* the First of the *Stewarts*, Anno 1380, the Original whereof is yet extant in our
Records

Ogyg. Pr. p. 27.

Records, and whereof the Copy is in *Forden* : But this League was treated by Cardinal *Wardlaw* for us, and the *Count d'Bryan* for the *French*, and the same League was again renewed, *Anno 1425*, by *John Lord Darnly* Constable of *France*, for the *French*; and *Wardlaw* makes this last Treaty to be the first that was made betwixt our Kings and the *French* : and *Offlabartie*, not to contradict him, has joyned the Persons who treated the one League, with the time wherein the other was treated. But that there was a League betwixt our *Achais* and *Charlmaigne*, or at least long before the Year 1380, is most uncontravertable for these Reasons :

1. The *French* Historians acknowledge that this League was betwixt *Achais* and *Charlemain*; and I have proved by *Eguinard* Secretary to the said *Charlemain*, that there was great Correspondence betwixt them; and that he esteemed very much the King of *Scotland*. As also, I have proved from *Italian* Authours, that

that there were Families descended of our Scotland settled in Italy, who came over with William Brother to the said Achajus.

2. Not onely does Chambers of Ormond, who lived then in France, set down the Articles of that Treaty, and the several times it was renewed; but Fordon * does expressly insert * *Lib. 14. c. 44.* the League that was betwixt Robert the Second, first of the Stewarts, and the King of France. Wherein the King of France acknowledges even at that time, the old Confederacies and Leagues, *à longo tempore, inter Prædecessores nostros Reges firmatæ & connexæ*; and the King of Scotland on the other part expresses, *Confœderatio inter illustres Reges Franciæ & avum nostrum*, this was Robert the Bruce; and adds, *Et olim facta & diutius observata*. And to instruct this part of Fordon's Story, as well as the League it self, we have the Original League with King Robert the First yet extant, and John Baliol (then pretended King of Scotland) refused to joyn with Edward

Lib. 11. c. 13.

Edward of England against *Philip of France*, because of the ancient League made by their Predecessours *Charlemain* and *Achaisus*, *Et usque nunc inconcussa servata*. Whereupon a League is renewed and confirmed by a Marriage, the Tenour whereof is also extant in *Fordon*, who also sets down the Tenour of the Pope's Bull, prohibiting *Alexander* the Second, our King, to continue in his League with the King of *France*, but to joyn with the King of *England*; and, as an effect of these Leagues, *Marianus* (whom the *Irish* call their Countrey-man, albeit they also confess, that he called our Countrey *Scotia*) mentions, that Anno 1070, the *Scots* and *French* wasted the *Engliss*: Which shews, that this Alliance was much elder, than either the 1425, or the 1380, as *O-Flahertie* asserts: And therefore, that excellent Historian the *Sieur Varillas* relates, that *Charles* the Fifth's Governour did advise him not to expect, that the King of *Scotland* would enter into his Interests, because the Alliance of that Nation with the *French*

French had lasted seven hundred Years, without interruption, from King to King, before that time. And by these we may see, what a just Author *Ulloa Bonifaz* is, who rejects our History for many years after this Alliance, and how judiciously he is produced by the Doctor. But, though the *French* could have been mistaken in all their Histories, yet it is not imaginable, that they would have bestowed great Privileges and Rewards upon us for Services done by the *Irish*; and that the Families, who came over at that time, would not have own'd themselves to be descended from the *Irish*, and not from us.

The Doctor, to induce his Readers to believe, that we are mistaken in the Genealogies of our own Kings, pretends that the true Reason of the mistake of the *Scottish Antiquaries* was, that we finding, that there was a *Fergus* in the *Irish* Genealogy called *Fertu* or *Farranallus*, who Reigned truly in 3775, and that in the descent of that *Fergus* there was a *Conar*; and from him

Pref. p. 4. 46.

Rieda

Rieda called by the *Irish* *Carbre Rieda*, and by us *Eoch* and *Ried*; and that there were several other Names in our Genealogies agreeing with the Genealogies of the *Irish*, as *Eochaid*, who was Father to *Eek*, and is acknowledged by both to be Father to *Fergus* the Second; the Doctor from all this concludes, that the Original mistake lay in applying the *Irish* Genealogy to the Kings of *Scotland*, and that we either imagined, or would have others believe, that all the Kings mentioned before *Fergus* the Son of *Eek* were Kings in *Scotland*, and so went back by degrees, till we made up a formal Story of forty Kings.

To this we Answer; That it were a strange thing, that our Story, which we have so well prov'd, should be overturned by the Doctor's mere Conjecture; especially, seeing there is no Ground for such a Conjecture from any of these Steps on which the Doctor founds his Probability. No Authour, for ought we can see, concurs with the Doctor in this Conjecture, as to *Fergus*; and *O-Flahertie*,

bertie, who pretends that he understands the differences betwixt the Descents and the Reasons thereof, goes no higher than *Cenar* the Second. And speaking twice of *Fergusus Fortis*, he makes not at all him to be the first Authour of our Race. 2. If we had not had a sure Warrant of the Settlement and Genealogy of our Kings, but had only inserted the Kings of *Ireland*, as ours, from a vanity to be thought Ancient; it is more probable by the same Reason, that we would have improved it to a Story of twice forty Kings backwards. And why should the Doctor make us to have list'd in *Fergusus Fortis* rather, than in *Fergusus Regius*, or *Fergusus Denti-niger*, both Kings in *Ireland* before *Fergus* the Second? 3. That there could be no Ground for our list'ing in *Fergusus fortis*, is very clear: for he reign'd *Anno Mundi* 3775, whereas our *Fergus* began to Reign *Anno Mundi* 3641, and so we had lost 134 years of our Antiquity; and we should rather have fixed upon *Hugonius Magnus*, who began to Reign 3619.

and consequently agreed with the true
time of our Settlement, and there had
been a more probable Conjecture from
what is said in *Ogygia*, in the Reign of
Reuchus immediate Predecessour to
Hugonius, in whose time it's said from
the Manuscript of *O-Duriganus*; that
one *Fere* made a descent into *Albania*,
and conquered it; and this *Fere* might
have been more probably said to
have been *Fereghard*, and so to have
made way for the Settlement of *Fer-*
gus his Son as King here; *inquit*
The next step of this Conjecture
is, that wherein *O-Flabettis* agrees
with the Doctor, and *O-Flabettis*
asserts, that all the Antiquaries of
Scotland and *Ireland* agree, that our
Kings are descended from *Garbre*
Ried the Son of *Conar* the Second,
who was King of *Ireland*. Which step
is also ill founded. For though
indeed we had a King called *Conar*
(as we had but one *Gar*) yet
here our *Conar* does not at all agree
with the *Irish Conar* in time. For
our *Conar* began to Reign in the
Year of *Christ* 149, whereas the
Irish Conar the Second began to
Reign

Reign *Anno Christi* 212. So that here we had lost 63 years again of our Antiquity. And the Conjecture from the Agreements in Names is very silly, we being Neighbours, and speaking one Language; and Kings even in remoter Kingdoms use to give their Children one another's Names. 2. The other part of that Position, that we are all agreed, that our Kings are descended from *Carbre Ried* the Son of *Conar*, and that our Countrey is called *Dalrieda* from him, this is false: for we own our being called *Dalreudini* from King *Reuda* or *Reutha*, in which our Historians follow *Beda's* express words; and *Rieda* and *Reutha* differ much in time, *Reutha* having in *Beda's* opinion settled here before *Julius Caesar*; whereas *Carbre Rieda* behov'd to be born long after that time, for his Father *Conar* Reign'd onely 112 years after *Christ*. 3. We had no *Carbres*, who could be Sons to *Conar* the Second, for we had onely one *Conar*, and so no *Conar* the Second, and he was Posterior to both our *Carbres*; for *Carbredus Galdus* Reign'd in *Anno* 76, and *Carbredus* the Second reign'd

in *Anno* 113, and so long Prior to the Reign of *Conar* in 212. 4. As to the Pretence, that *Eochoid Ried*, or *Etdach Ried* is the same with *Carbre Ried*, and that our Genealogy had an *Eochoid Ried* Posterior to *Conar*; this is Groundless: for both our Genealogies, and the *Irish* have both *Eochoids* and *Carbres*, as distinct Names, nor do the Names appear the same any manner of way. 5. Though it might be pretended, that our Countrey was call'd *Dalrieda* from a Countrey in *Ireland*, and not from *Reutha*; yet *non constat*, that it was so called from a Countrey call'd *Dalrieda*, and so from the Surname of *Ried*; but from *Araidh* King of *Ireland*, seeing the same, *O-Flahertie* gives an account of a King of *Ulster* called *Fiachus Araidh*, from whom also a Countrey in *Ulster* is call'd *Dalaradia* and *Dalriadia*, and the Inhabitants *Dalaradii*. And this King *Araidh* was also after *Conar*: For he began to reign *Anno* 240. And as it was more honourable to have a Countrey called after *Reuda* a *Scotish* King, than

than from *Araidh*, who was but a King of *Ulster*, and so one of the Kings of a Province in *Ireland*; so it is yet more dishonourable, to have our glorious Monarch, who now Reigns, descended from *Carbre Ried*, who was but a *Dynastie* in this Provincial Kingdom of *Ulster*; and so a Subject, each Provincial Kingdom having five *Dynasties*, as *O-Flabertie* tells us. And from all this I leave to my Readers to judge, whether Dr. *Stillingfleet* and his Authours doe the King greater Honour, in making him to be descended from a petty Subject; or our Historians, who make him still to be descended from absolute Monarchs.

I cannot here omit to laugh at good *O-Flabertie* for asserting, that Ogyg. p. 475.
our Kings, even till the 590, were but *Dynasties*, Tributaries and Subjects to the Kings of *Ireland*, and that *Aidanus* got an Exemption from paying Tribute at the Parliament of *Dromcheat*; where he appeared. And the Doctor does great Honour to our King in following such Authours, and rather to follow
M 3 them,

them, than the venerable *Beda*.
 The Bishop of *St. Asaph* has a different derivation of *Dalrieda* from all the former Authours: for he brought it from *Ri*, which signifies King in the *Irish*, and *Eda* the King's name; so that *Eda* was a different King (and Authour of this Appellation), from *Rheuda*, *Carbre Ried*, *Echoid Ried* or *Araidh*. And are our Histories to be overturn'd by such irreconcilable Authours?

The fourth step of this Conjecture is, in the Agreement of our History with the *Irish* in the Persons of *Eric*, *Eochoid*, *Mainreamhere*, *Oengus Fear*, the Father, Grandfather and Great Grandfather of our *Fergus* the Second; though there be a difference in the rest of the Line, from *Carbre* to *Fergus*, our Historians making this Line to consist of thirteen Persons, and theirs of ten. But against this last Period it is represented, That the small Agreement in this step, as to the Names of Father and Grandfather of *Fergus*, with their residence in *Ireland*, the Grandfather having been expell'd from *Scotland*,
 and

and fled to *Ireland*, when King *Engenius* was killed by the Romans under *Maximus*, gave a Rise to some unexact *Irish* Writers to imagine, that the return of this *Fergus* the Second from *Ireland*, after forty four years absence, was our first Settlement in *Britain*. But the want of three in this Period of thirteen in a direct Line does much over-balance the small Probability, that is urged against us, from the Agreement in two Names, and some resemblance in other two, viz. in *Carbre Ried*, and *Eochoid Ried*, and *Ænegusa Tich* and *Angus Fear*. It is also very observable, that this *Irish* Genealogy allows 283 years to these ten, viz. from the death of *Conar Carbre's* Father (who dyed *Anno* 220, *Arthur* his Successour having begun his Reign that year) to the Year 503, wherein *Laorn* eldest Brother to our *Fergus* the Second (as they say) began his Reign; and yet to fifty one Kings from that *Laorn* to *Malcolm* the Third, they allow onely 554 years. And from the reflexion it is also more probable, that there

were thirteen in this Period, and that *Conar* began to reign in the Year 149, and *Fergus* the Second in the Year 404, as our Historians assert.

To all these I add the irreconcilable differences amongst the *Irish* Authors, as to the first Founder of our Monarchy, and the time wherein it was founded; as also the irreconcilable Consequences following thereupon, wherein our three great Adversaries *Camden*, *Usher* and Bishop of *St. Asaph* did so widely differ, as I have fully prov'd in my first Book, without any Answer; and by which Contradictions Dr. *Stillingfleet* himself is so mist, that he cannot determine, whether we setled in the fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh Centuries, professing, that in matters of so great obscurity he could determine nothing.

My last Argument to prove, that our Histories cannot be overturn'd by the *Irish*, shall be from comparing the Warrants of both. But, before I enter upon this, I must again regret in this Book, as I did in my last, that
the

the *Irisb* should mistake so far their own Interest, as to suffer or furnish theirs to overturn the Credibility of ours: Since, because we acknowledge our selves to have come last from *Ireland*, it were our common Interest to unite together, and to sustain one another's Antiquities, as their Authours did before Bishop *Usher*, who was of foreign Extraction. For, though they controverted some of our Saints and Monasteries, because of the common name *Scoti*, yet till then they never opposed our Antiquities, knowing that in so far as we prov'd our Antiquity by *Roman* and foreign Authours, which they had not the occasion to do, they in so far were proved to be ancient, which *Staniburst* well observ'd, as I did remark, in my first Book. And upon seeing the use that is made of Authours against us, who are really for us (as *Beda* and others) we are apt to believe, that theirs are not, if we saw them; and that the *Irisb* rather omit our remote Antiquities, than contradict them. Nor would we have controverted

verted the Authority of their Annals, though some of the *English* had produc'd them against us, if some of the *Irish* had not by ignorance or mistake concurr'd of late with them. We likewise desire them to consider, how our Adversaries, and particularly Dr. *Stillingfleet* railly their Antiquities and Authours *Ketin*, *Wardens* and *O-Flabertie*, and yet seem (which is severe) to allow their Antiquities, to the end they may encourage them to oppose us, laying still foundations in the mean time to overturn theirs also, when they have serv'd their turn, which I now proceed to discover.

Prof. & Chap. 5.
passim.

First, The *Milesian* Race is accounted by the *Irish* their Fourth Race; and yet this is controverted by Dr. *Stillingfleet*. And the Authority and Learning of the *Druids*, upon which the *Irish* do chiefly found the Authority of their Histories, is absolutely denied; as it also is, that the *Irish* had use of Letters, till after *St. Patrick's* time: and all the Antiquity he does allow them is, as to general things, as, from whence they were

were peopld, and that they had successions of Kings time out of mind; *Prof. p. 43, 44* and does magnify the *Zygerneck* Annals for confessing, that the *Irish* Antiquities, till the Reign of *Kimbacius* their 73d King, are very uncertain, and he liv'd within 59 years of our *Fergus*. And the Doctor adds, that he might have gone farther, and done no injury to Truth; and at last brings down this Truth to *Fergusius Fortamalms*, who liv'd *Anno Mundi* 3775. which is 134 years after our *Fergus*; whereas we necessarily conclude the *Irish* to have a much greater Antiquity; for there were many Descents made here from *Ireland*, to prepare the settlement of *Fergus*; and *Ireland* lying in the neighbourhood of *Britain* and *Spain*, and describ'd by the Ancientest Geographers and other Writers, as inhabited, and without any mention of Conquest, it necessarily follows, that they must have been *Aborigines* there. And, by the same reason, they having been very ancient, and wanting Wars, must have eas'd themselves by Colonies; And, this
Coun-

Countrey being within 13 Miles of them, our settlement must have been very ancient. And so the one does necessarily infer the other, and should not be made use of to contradict it; and the *English*, who have conquer'd them, are interested to humble them, but we to maintain them. Albeit then it is our own Interest to support their Antiquities; yet in as far as they are now produc'd to overturn what relates to our Countrey, they are not to be preferr'd to ours, as the Doctor asserts: for who would maintain, that the Accounts given by the *Saxons*, *Celtæ* or *Spaniards* should be preferr'd to the *British*, or *English*, or *Irish* Histories for the times, after the *Britains*, *English* or *Irish* were acknowledg'd to be settled? And as to the *Irish* Writers themselves, this Poem selected and preferr'd to all other Annals by *O-Flabertie*, as not onely containing an acknowledgment of our settlement, but a Genealogy of our Kings, we have prov'd, that it is not prelerable to our Historians in point of Credibility. And besides all that

I have

I have said of it, I must add, that *O-Flabertie* * acknowledges, that there were several different Copies of it, and even this, which he follow'd, was not intire, some Distichs being wanting, else he doubted not to make an intire Catalogue. And even this, such as it is, is onely written in *Malcolm Canmore's* time, whom it mentions, who reign'd in the 1057. of which lateness all the other *Irish* Annals allow'd by the Doctor are.

The main ground insisted on by the Doctor for preferring the *Irish* in the point of Credibility to us is, that we neither had, nor could have so ancient Annals as they, our Monasteries being onely founded by *St. David*, and after him, and so posterior to their Annals. Which Argument is founded upon a false Supposition: for the Doctor himself acknowledges that the *Psalter of Narvan* contains onely matters of Devotion, as the *Irish* Antiquaries cited by him confess. This is the eldest, and was written in the latter end of the Eighth Century. The next is the *Psalter*

Ogyg. p. 467.
Verum aliquot desideratis Distichis, integrum Appendix paragraphum reperire non contigit; aliis absolutum ex eo Catalogum contexere non dubitavimus.

Stillingfleet, chap. 5. p. 271.

-Psalter of *Cassell*, which he rejects as not well founded, and allows none as credible, but those which are written after the Year of *Christ* 1000. And it cannot be deny'd, but we might have had well-warranted Annals before that time; which the Doctor denies. For first, We were then fully possess'd not onely of our own first part of *Scotland*, but even of the *Pictish* part of it, and also of the *Northern* (now *English*) Countries confirm'd to *Malcolm the First* (by the *English* own acknowledgment) who reign'd *Anno Christi* 943. And so we were Masters of *Icolmkill*, *Abertorn*, *Abernethie*, *Mailross*, *Lindisfern*, and other Monasteries, which lay within that great extent; and which extent *Dr. Stillingfleet* acknowledges, since *Severus's Wall* is by him confess'd to be built betwixt *Tine* and *Esk*. We had also the number of our Bishopricks increased by the subduing of the *Picts*, as is not onely probable in it self, but is clear by the acknowledg'd Catalogues of Bishopricks in *Fordon*. *Icolmkill* is by
Beda

Beda said to be founded about the
 560. and to be the chief of all the
 Monasteries in Britain or Ireland.
Abernethie was founded in *Garnard's*
 time, who was next *Pictish* King to
Braden, in whose time *Columba*
 liv'd, and so about the 600. And
Forde relates, that this Monastery
 was founded 200 years before the
 Church of *Dunkeld* was founded.
 And here is not only a Monastery
 mention'd, which might have had
 Annals higher than the *Psalter* of
Naran, suppose it had created His-
 tory; but he cites the *Chronicle* of
Abernethie, which the Doctor ac- *Prof. p. 51.*
 knowledges to be an old Chronicle;
 and *Beda* also acknowledges, that
 there was such a Monastery as *Aber-*
corn. And though the Doctor cites *Ba-* *Prof. p. 43.*
chanan, saying, that it was so demo-
 lish'd, that no vestige of it did ap-
 pear; yet, the *Pictish* Kingdom be-
 ing quite ruin'd, the Argument, that
 there was no such Monastery, is of
 no force; for the Records of many
 demolish'd Monasteries are preserv'd.
 And, though the Abbey of *Maib-*
ross was rebuilt by *St. David*; yet,
 that

that it was a famous Monastery in *Beda's* time, is clear (for he tells, that the Abbat of *Mailross* was translated to *Lindisfern*) and has probably remained long demolish'd by the Wars, as *Abercorn* did; and the Writers did thereby express the rebuilding as an original foundation. And the reason, why I said in my former Book, that this Abbacy was (before it was rebuilt) called *Rivallis*, was because I have seen in a Collection of Foundations made by our Lord Register *Steen* a Copy of the Foundation of *Mailross*, wherein the Lands of *Mailross* and others are given to the Monks of *Rivallis*. But, whether *Mailross* or *Rivallis* are distinct or not, is not material to our point; and, if they be distinct, it is more for our advantage, since by that Concession we have two Monasteries doted by *St. David*.

It contributes much to the preference of our Histories beyond the *Irish* in point of Credibility, and to the establishment of the Credibility of our Histories against all our Adversaries, that in the Debate before the

the Pope at *Rome*, about the Year 1300. (where the *Roman* Antiquities must certainly be best understood, and when the Debate was against the Learn'd *English*, who were very much concerned to contradict us) we did own this our settlement before *Julius Cæsar* his entry into this Isle; and that we as a settled Nation, and not as a vagrant company of *Irisbes*, maintain'd that long series of Wars related by *Beda* and our own Historians. And in that Debate we assert justly, that the visible Ruines of the two Walls built by the *Romans* against us and the *Picts* are certain proofs of our Antiquity, and that we were the People who maintain'd the War. As also in a Letter from our Nobility to the Pope about the Year 1320. we again assert our Antiquity, and that *Hæc collegimus ex Antiquorum gestis & libris*. And all this Debate and Letter being yet extant, these are surer Warrants for our Antiquity, than any thing that can be urg'd against us from the *Irisb* Annals, the eldest whereof are in the

Year 1100. written by Natives at home, without any contradiction or warrant, for ought we have yet seen. Nor has the Learn'd Dr. *Stillingfleet* answered the same Objection, when urged in my First Book, though with less force than it is now urg'd.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* answers to all that is urg'd from the Antiquity of our Monasteries, That this proves one-ly, that we might have had, but not that we had sufficient Warrants, since we produce not the Annals of these Monasteries. To which my Answer is, that (1.) This at least overturns his Position, that *We neither had, nor could have sufficient Warrants for a greater Antiquity than the Irish.* (2.) The *Irish* produce no Warrants for their Annals, though much later than ours; and, as we are equal in other things, so we are stronger in this. (3.) We have formerly prov'd, as convincingly as can be in any such case, that we had such Annals in these our Monasteries, and that our Historians compil'd our Histories from them;

them; and that they were lost by the Invasions of the *English*, and by the demolishing of our Monasteries in an Age, wherein all their Records were thought Reliques of Popery.

The Doctor's own chief grounds for preference, in point of Credibility, are * Testimonies founded upon * Still chap. 1.
Ancient Credible Writers, having a P 35.
concurrent probability of circumstances, and that amongst these Ancient Writers, consideration is to be had of their abilities, opportunities, care and diligence, according to which Rules, I have formerly produced many concurring Testimonies from Ancient Credible Authours, relating things credible, and probable: and now in competition with the *Irish*, as to the abilities, and opportunities of our Authours, and their care and diligence in collecting our Histories, I contend, we ought to be preferable; because, beside the grounds above urg'd, I must remember my Readers, that the Doctor denies the *Irish* any opportunity of transmitting their Histories by Letters, till after *St. Patrick's* time.

But so it is, that I have prov'd that *Palladius's* Mission was to the *Scots* in *Britain*, and the Doctor has acknowledg'd, that this Mission of *Palladius* was Prior to that of Saint *Patrick*: and which is higher, the Doctor acknowledges that the Unconquer'd Nations beyond the *Roman* Wall, were the *Christians* spoke of by *Tertullian*; and I have prov'd that we were one of these Unconquered Nations. And therefore, since we had the use of Letters before the *Irish*, Letters being the surest Vehicles of History, and Christianity the chief Nursery of Letters, it follows necessarily from the Doctor's own Rules, that our Histories are more credible than the *Irish*. And this Argument holds equally good, whether we our selves were the Unconquer'd Nations, when Christianity was first planted, or became Masters by conquest of these *Christians* here, who had the early use of Letters: even as the *English*, or *Saxons*, had good grounds of knowledge, from the Letters and Learning of the *Britans*, whom they conquer'd. The
next

next is, that we had greater opportunity to know our own Histories, and greater reason to use care and diligence in writing them, than the *Irish*, who were Strangers. The third is, that the *Irish* having err'd so grossly in the last, and most uncontroverted part of our History, and in which they contradict the Foreign and Contemporary Historians of other Nations, it cannot be urg'd that their Credibility is of any moment, in the more ancient and darker part of our Antiquities, and History, wherein they differ from us. And lastly, our Historians have for their Abilities been very famous for many Ages, in Foreign Nations, and amongst the best Criticks; whereas we have seen no Histories from *Ireland* till of late, and much later than ours. And though we are far from having any low esteem of the *Irish* Abilities, yet we conceive, that the Doctor should remember that by the suggestion of his Countrymen, Pope *Adrian* gives the Kingdom of *Ireland* to *Henry the Second of England*, *ad declarandum*

Vid. Bul. in For-
don, lib. 12.
cap. 33.

N 3 indoctis,

Fordon, *Ibid.*

*indoctis, & rudibus populi Christianis
fidei veritatem, &c.* whereupon they
writ a Letter to Pope John, wherein
they complain, that they were se-
verely and cruelly us'd as Beasts, and
therefore desire that his Holiness
would confirm the Election they
had made of *Edward*, Brother to
King *Robert the Bruce*, for their
King.

The Learn'd Bishop *Usher* was
pleas'd, in partiality to his own Coun-
try, to assert that this his Majesty's
Kingdom was never called *Scotland*,
till 1000 years after *Christ*. But the
Reverend Bishop of *St. Asaph* find-
ing that this was not tenable; he
onely asserts, that after the Year
900. we got the rest of the Coun-
try, and then it onely came to be
called *Scotland*. Both these Opi-
nions I have endeavour'd to refute
in the Seventh Section of my Book,
where I have clear'd all this matter
in nine Positions, to all which the
Doctor is pleas'd to answer nothing,
save (1.) That I have unwarranta-
bly asserted that the Name of *Scots*,
doth originally belong to the *Scots*
in

in *Britain*, and onely by way of Communication to these in *Ireland*.

But I beg his pardon, to tell him, that I have no such Position, though for confirming my Answers to these two Reverend Bishops in the former Debates, I did onely for farther clearing the matter, assert that the old name under which *Ireland* was known to the *Greeks* was *Ierna*, and to the *Latines* *Hibernia*, which I prov'd from Bishop *Usher* himself.

(2.) I asserted that before the Year 400. there was no Authour that made mention of *Scotia*, or *Scoti*, but when they meant our Country, and Country-men : and this I have prov'd without any Answer. But in the (3.) place, I positively say, pag. 143. of my First Book, that I was not concerned to debate the Antiquity of the names of *Scotia*, or *Scoti*, but onely when we first settled here. And therefore though our Historians do assert that the *Irish* were first called *Scots*, that contradicts not any of my Positions. For though very anciently the *Irish* might be called *Scots*, yet about the

P. 348.

time that the *Romans* and others begun to write of the *Scots*, the Books now extant do onely apply these Names to us, and to our Country. And the Authour of *Ogygia* does himself acknowledge, that the *Romans* first invented the Name of *Scotland*: and if so, it was probably applicable to Us: for they had much commerce with us, but none with *Ireland*.

Lib. 4. cap. 26.

Amongst the many Citations which I adduced for proving that *Scotland* was called *Ireland*, in *Bede's* time, one was from his Ecclesiastical History, wherein *Bede* relates, that *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, having sent an Army into *Ireland* under *Bertus*, he wasted the Country, and the Innocent People: and the next year, having sent an Army to waste the Province of the *Picts*, contrary to the advice of his Friends, and of *St. Cuthbert*, God suffered that Army to be destroyed, because the former year he had rejected their advice, that he should not invade *Scotland* which did not wrong him. And to clear that the *Scotia* here exprest was not *Ireland*,

Ireland, he adds the *English* and *Scots* who abide in *Britain*. This Passage (as well as the others, which I have cited, and shall cite) proves (1.) That *Scotland* then has been promiscuously called by the names of *Hibernia*, and *Scotia*; for the same thing is said first to have been done in *Scotia*, and then in *Hibernia*. And this answers the Objection, *Hiberni revertuntur domum*, and where could their home be but in *Ireland*? (2.) It proves that this our Country was called *Scotia* in *Beda's* time, and so long before the Year 1000. which the Bishop denies. Nor can it be prov'd that the King of *Northumberland* went to make war in *Ireland*, otherwise than from *Ostlabartie's* late Book, which is not to be put in balance with *Beda*, who was disinterested, and liv'd in the very time. To which the Doctor answers, that by *Scotland* must be there meant *Ireland*, because the Nation which *Egfrid* invaded, had been always kind to the *English*; which cannot be said of our *Scotland*. But to this it

- Lib. 3. cap. 27. is replied, that I have prov'd in my Book, from the same *Beda* (who must be the best Interpreter of his own words) that the *English* at that time were very kindly entertained by the *Scots*, and furnished with all things necessary: which kindness proceeded from an Union in Religion, which in those happy, and pious days, was the foundation of all kindness: and thus I have answered the Doctor's Argument, but he has not answered mine. But to prove that *Scotland* was called *Ireland* in those days, and that this place of *Beda's* is applicable to our Country, and not to *Ireland*; I cite the *English Polychronicon*, who says many evidences we have that this *Scotland* is oftentimes called (*Heght*) *Hibernia*, as *Ireland* does: for which he cites many Proofs, and particularly this Passage in *Beda*. "If it is a
" common Saw, that the Country
" which now is nam'd *Scotland*, is
" an outstretching of the North part
" of *Britain*. This *Lond bete* some-
" time *Albania*, and hath that name
" of *Albanactus*, afterwards the *Lond*
" *bete*
- Lib. 1. de Scotia
cap. 39.

"*hete Pittavia*, for the *Pitts* reigned
 "therein 1070 Years : and at last
 "*hete Hibernia*, as *Ireland* byght.
 And thereafter it is said at the end of
 that Page, many Evidences we have
 out of this *Scotland*, that it is oft
 called and *Hyte Hibernia*, as *Ireland*
 has : and particularly amongst many
 Citations out of *Beda*, he cites *Eg-* Lib. 4. cap. 22.
fridus, King of *Northumberland*, de-
 stroyed *Ireland*, &c. which is the
 Passage controverted.

This *Polychronicon* is cited by
Fordon, and was Prior to him, for
 as *Vossius* tells us, it was written by
Ranulphus Higden, who died, *Anno*
Christi 1363. and was translated by
Johannes Trevisa, who continu'd it Voss. de Hist.
 to the Year 1398. Lat. lib. 3.

From which I draw these Con-
 clusions. (1.) That this Country
 was called *Scotland* before the Year
 1000. which overthrows the Bishop
 of *St. Asaph's* Assertion. (2.) That
 our Country was called *Hibernia*,
 which answers most of all our Ad-
 versaries Arguments. (3.) That this
 place in *Beda* is to be ascrib'd to
 us, notwithstanding *Dr. Stilling-*
fleet's

fleet's reason, and *Offlabartie's* History.

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

For proving likewise that *Scotland* was called *Hibernia*, in *Beda's* time, and by him, I produced among many other Passages that very clear one, Where he says that *Aidan* was sent from the Isle which is called *Hy*, which is the chief of the *Scotish* and *Pictish* Monasteries; and belongs to *Britan*; *Et ad jus Britanniae pertinet*: albeit, speaking of *Hy*, in other places, he says it is in *Hibernia*.

To which the Doctor answers, Doth not *Beda* in the same place say, that the Island *Hy* was given by the *Picts*, and not by the *Scots* to the *Scotish* Monks that came from *Ireland*? But what a Paralogism is this? For it might have been given by the *Picts*, and yet have been within the Territories of the *Scots*: for these neighbouring Nations did seise oft-times Places belonging to one another. And the *Picts* being sensible, that they were not able to keep this Place which was so remote from their own Territories, they did there-

therefore the more easily mortify it to a Monastery. Nor could it otherwise have belong'd to the *Picts* : for it was never pretended that the *Pictish* Dominions extended to our Western Isles, or that they did reach farther than *Clyd* : and *Beda* himself does march them so. And the Shire of *Argyle*, and many Isles such, as *Bute*, lie betwixt *Clyd* and *Icolmkill*, or *Hy* : and it was never question'd, but that these belong'd to Us, and were the Seat of Our Kings. And *Usher* thinks that *Beda* was mistaken, in saying that the *Picts* gave this Isle to this Monastery. But (2.) does this Answer prove, that it belong'd to *Ireland*, which is the onely Point here in debate. Or can there be any thing more inconsistent with that, than *Beda's* own words, which are, *that it belong'd to Britain as a part of it* ? And if it be a part of *Britain*, it cannot be in *Ireland*, otherwise, than because *Scotland*, which was a part of *Britain*, was then called *Ireland*. Nor does the situation of the Place contribute less to clear this, than *Beda's* clear

clear Authority. For it was never pretended by the *Irish*, that our Western Isles, which lie upon our Coast, belong'd to *Ireland*. And the first thing that is known of them, is, that they belong'd to *Scotland*; and since this Monastery and Isle is now in the possession of the *Scots*, and has been so for many Ages. We desire the Learned Doctor, and his *Irish* Evidences, to condescend when, and by what War or Transaction the *Irish* lost that, or the other Isles: for if it had been theirs, we could not have got it, but by one of these two ways.

Since then *Hy* was a part of our *Scotland*, it necessarily follows, that *Aidan* came not from the Northern *Scots* in *Ireland*, as Doctor *Stillingfleet* asserts: for the Bishop of Saint *Asaph* acknowledges, that *Aidan* was ordained at *Hy*, by the Bishop of *Hy*, and *Dunkeld* *, which he supposes with *Usher* to be then founded, and cites *Bede* † for his Voucher: and adds, that after *Firian's* death, *Colman* succeeded in the Bishoprick, who was also sent from
Scot-

* Cap. 9. p. 103,
104, 105.

† Hist. 3. 5.
pag. 171, 172.

‡ 3. 5. p. 166.

Scotland, that is, from *Hy*; and that he was a Bishop of *Scotland*: which must be our *Scotland*, for the reasons aforesaid, notwithstanding of what the Doctor says. And from all this we wonder, with the Doctor, that any that can carefully read *Beda*, can dispute, what is so clearly said in him, that *Scotland* was called *Hibernia*; and so we'll conclude against him in his own words. But we wonder what the Doctor means, when he acknowledges that from *Beda* it appears, that the *Scots* had a Kingdom in *Britain*. But when he speaks of the Religion of the same *Scots*, he means the *Scots of Ireland*: this is indeed beyond my understanding: but I am sure, it can have no colour, from making the *Ireland*, wherein *Icolmkill*, or *Hy* is, an Isle distinct from *Britain*; having in my former Book cleared, that our part of *Scotland*, was called an Isle, as contradistinguished from *Britain*, by the two Firths, *Clyd*, and *Forth*, being clos'd up by a Wall, and is therefore called an Isle by *Tacitus*, and others whom I for-

Pres. p. 69.

I formerly cited. To whom I now add several *English* Authours, as *William* of *Malmsbury*, who speaking of *Britain*, says, & *per se*, *velut insulam, à Scotia divisa*. And *Bartholomæus Anglicus* says, that *Scotia Regnum promontorium est, montibus & maris brachiis à Britannia separata: & Anglorum progenies, Britanniam insulam possidet*. And therefore *Beda* speaking of *Weremith* in *Northumberland*, he tells us, that it is near to *Scotland*, and adds, that by this it may appear, that the remotest part of the Isle of *Britain* towards the North is *Northumberland*. Which could not have been true, if it had not been spoken upon the supposition, that our Country had been an Island; for our Country lies be-north *Northumberland*; in the Isle of *Britain*. All which are to be found in the Third Chapter of the Second Book of *Fordon*, with several others, which I here omit, rather as unnecessary, than impertinent.

Scotiz propinquum. Ex quibus patet quod ultima pars insulae Britanniae versus Boream est Northumbria.

I prov'd





I add to these *Paulus Diaconus*, *Epit. hist. Rom.* who speaking of Wars betwixt *Britains* and *Saxons*, from the time of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, says, that the Victory hung uncertain betwixt them, *donec Saxones potentiores effecti, tota per longum Insula potirentur*: And this must be onely understood of *England*, for the *Saxons* did not in his time, nor since conquer that part of *Britain* which belong'd to us. But by that he onely meant, that the *Saxons* conquer'd that part which belonged to the *Romans*, and was called an *Isle*, as contra-distinguished from ours. I Decr. 16. pag. prov'd this also from the *Marty-* 783. *rologium Romanum*, *Abredonia* in *Hibernia*, *Sancti Beani Episcopi*, to which nothing is answered: And I now add to it, *Baronius in notis*, Pag. 784. *Beani vetera manuscripta ex quibus Molanus hac die fuit hic Episcopus Abredonenfis.*

Having thus cleared the Antiquity of our Kings, and the truth of our Histories, by so solid Reasons, and from so good Authority. I hope the reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet* will be

as Ingenuous, in retracting what he has written against the State, in these Points; As he did very Commendably retract what he had written against the Government of his own Church, in his *Irenicum*: At least he will retract *That insolent Expression*, *Præf. pag. 72. That our Antiquities are universally dis-esteem'd, amongst all Judicious and inquisitive Men*: Since all men have not written their opinion, nor has he read all Writers; and this at least contradicts the many parts of his Book, wherein he acknowledges, that *Lipsius* and other great Criticks are of our side. And I have cited most of all the considerable Criticks, and have fully satisfied the insignificant Answers made by Dr. *Stillingfleet* to them; and if I have left any Expression in all the Book unanswered, it is because it was unworthy of having been urged by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, or answered by me.

And, though I could add many new Authours, who have owned our Antiquities; yet, loving rather to reason, than to cite, I produce
 one,

one, who not onely owns our Antiquities, but makes our Antiquities a strong Argument against the Supremacy of the Pope. For (says he) the Bishop of Rome cannot pretend, that the Church in Britain received the *Christian Faith* from Rome, since Scotland, a part of it, was *Christian* before the Romans had access to it. The Authour is the learned *Lomeierus*; * who tells us, That the *Britains* had the knowledge of Letters 270 years before *Christ*: for *Dornadilla* King of the Scots wrote, before then, the Laws of Hunting observed to this day amongst the Subjects of that Kingdom, as Sacred even to this Age. And they were not amongst the last, who received the *Christian Religion*: for *Tertul. advers. Jud. cap. 7.* tells, that the places which were unaccessible to the Romans, had yielded to *Christ*. And from this he concludes, that they are *Parasites*, who flatter the Bishop

* Joh. Lomeierus de Bibliothecis, p. 149. Edit. 4. Ex Germania transfretatus ad penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos, qui quidem literarum cognitionem diu ante Christi tempora habuisse dicuntur: Anno enim ante Christum natum 270. Dornadilla Maini filius, Scotorum Rex, precepta venandi scriptis commisit, & subditis suis servanda proposuit: qua leges & nostro adhuc seculo, seu sacra, observantur. Fidem Christianam non postremi receperunt. Tertul. adv. Judæos, cap. 7. Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Audiant hoc Romani Pontificis Gnathones, qui ejus universalem Monarchiam in Ecclesiam quovis modo stabilire conantur. Britanni fidem acceperunt in illis locis quò Romanis adi-

tus non patebat. Qui posset dari Episcopus universalis, cum nullus unquam fuerit Monarcha politicus, qui sibi totum terrarum orbem subjecerit? Quamvis Romanorum imperatores hac vanâ opinione inflatos Spiritus gesserunt, ut se totius orbis Dominos crederent, cum sanè modicam ejus partem obtinebant.

* And though it may be objected that he had this from our Historians, yet it still proves that he and others believe our Historians.

of Rome, as universal Monarch of the Church, since here were *Christians*, to whom the *Romans* had never access. From which I also draw these Conclusions: 1. Here is a Proof of our ancient Learning, and consequently a Foundation for the Credibility of

our *Annals*. 2. Here is an acknowledgment of a King before *Fergus* the Second, and long before the Year 503, proved too by Laws yet observ'd, which was a sure way of preserving his Memory; and the matter of Fact is true, for we remember those Laws as his to this very day. * 3. Here is an acknowledgment, that *Tertullian's* Citation is applicable to us. 4. It seems by this more just, that the Bishop of *St. Asaph* should rather have sustained our Antiquities, as an Argument against Popery, than rejected them for answering an Argument against Episcopacy, Religion being of greater consequence than Government, and the inference being stronger in the one Case than the other; for he should have urg'd that it is not probable, that we who were

Enemies

Enemies to the *Roman* Nation would have submitted to the *Roman* Church; but would have rather lookt upon their Missionaries as Spies, especially in those barbarous times, when Nations were considered more than Doctrine: for though Religion already received, might have Cemented us; yet before it was submitted to, so great an enmity as was betwixt us, might have obstructed Commerce and Kindness; from which probably proceeded our aversion to the *Romish* Rites as to *Easter*, and other Points for many Ages, in which we followed the *Greek* Church in opposition to the *Romish*. But leaving this Argument to be prosecuted by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, it cannot be denied but both the learned *Blondel* cited by the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and *Lomeierus* were both convinced, that our Antiquities were undeniable, for no man in his Wits draws Arguments from Premisses which himself thinks uncertain.

Possevinus also the Jesuit, in his *Lib. 15. cap. 5.* *Bibliotheca Selecta*, inserts among the Historians whom he recom-

mends as most Authentick, an account of our Antiquities : Wherein among other things, we are asserted to have had a Christian Church here in the Year 203. and the Citations from *Tertullian* and *St. Jerom* are appropriated to us, and to these are added three other Citations, agreeing with them, one from *St. Chrysostome* in *Serm. de Pentecost.* a second from the same Authour, in his *Homilia quòd Deus sit homo*, and a third from *Petrus Venerabilis*, lib. 8. epist. 16. And therefore, as in my last Book I did conclude, that our Antiquity behoved to be very remarkable, since before Bishop *Usher's* time, every Nation made us most ancient, next to themselves; so in this Book I may conclude, that our Christianity must be much ancients, than those reverend Divines would make even our settlement, since men of all persuasions concur in it, and speak of it with great Elogies, and draw consequences from it; for the honour of their own Church : Which according to the Doctor's principles cited by me, are the surest marks of Conviction.

Thus

Thus I hope I have sufficiently illustrated this Subject, and therefore I am not resolved any farther, either to burthen it, or my Readers.

For clearing some Passages in
this Book, the Reader may
be pleased to consider seri-
ously, these following Addi-
tions and Alterations.

PAG. 3. lin. 4. for *Kenneth III.* read
Kenneth II.

Pag. 5. lin. 10. Add to what I have said
concerning *Lese Majesty*; *That Dr. Stil-
lingfleet, Praef. p. 5. calls this, the shar-
pest and most unhandsome Reflexion in all
my First Book, and I am glad he does
so; for if there be any severity in these
my words, Luddus is to be blamed, and
not I: for my words in my Letter to my
Lord Chancellour, p. 11. are — and since
Luddus owns, that he durst not deny the
British descent from Brutus; lest he might
thereby wrong the Majesty of the English
Nation; I admire, that any of the Subjects
of Great Britain did not think it a degree of
lese Majesty, to injure and shorten the Royal
Line of their Kings. By which it may very
easily appear, that I did take the word Lese
Majesty in a Rhetorical, and not in a le-
gal sense, though I find, that Dr. Stil-
lingfleet*

lingſt does not answer my Objections, even supposing the word to be there otherwise taken ; for it seems for ought that's yet answered, that to injure and shorten the Royal Line, is a degree of lese Majesty ; that is to say, it tends (in *Luddu's* own words) to wrong the Majesty of the *British* Monarchy.

Pag. 8. lin. 10. Put out these words, —and this is clear also by the *Book of Pasley.*

Pag. 9. lin. 17. Instead of these words, *that the People deposed Kings* ; reade, that the People sometimes *de facto* deposed Kings in those ancient barbarous times ; *ibidem, lin. 23.* Instead of these words, *till Kenneth the Third's time*, reade, long after *Fergus* the Second's time.

Pag. 20. lin. 19. For these words, *and the inquisitive Bede was not able to reach so far back in the year 700.* reade, that *Bede* made it not his business, to search out secular Antiquities, having onely design'd (as is clear by his Book) to write of us in so far as was necessary, for his Ecclesiastical History, which needed not the helps of the old Manuscripts in our Monasteries. *Ibid. l. 14.* Put out the words, *ut fertur*, as they say, a word used in the remotest Antiquity.

For farther clearing *Pag. 22, 23, 24.*
Cap. 2. Whether the *Meata* and *Caledonii* were *Britains* distinct from the *Scotts* and *Picts*, whom *Dion* calls the Unconquered

Camb. Brit.
pag. 82.

Chap. 5. p. 240.

quered Nations, and who the Doctor says, were different from the *Scots* and *Picts*; It's fit to add to what I said on this subject, that our Adversaries differ among themselves, and contradict one another in this point; for *Cambden*, whom *St. Asaph* follows, makes the *Picts* *Caledonians*, or *Extraprovincial Britains*, thinking it thereby more easie to make the settlement of one Nation late, than to make both so; because thus he differs less from received Histories: But the Doctor sticks not to make the settlement of the *Picts* later, than that of the *Scots*; because he never finds the name of the *Picts* mentioned, till about the time the *Scots* are, and therefore refutes *Cambden*: whereas *Ossabarty* rejects this reason, contending, as we do, that it is ridiculous to say, that a Nation is no older, than from its being mentioned in History under such a name.

Pag. 29. lin. 18. For *&c.* 492. read *&c. pag. 492.*

Pag. 32 lin. 3. After the word *Piracy*, add, And whereas the Doctor objects, that this Wall was unnecessarily built betwixt the two Seas to hinder the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*; seeing, I supposed, the custome was to cross over the two Firths, and to land on this side of the Wall; for so they landed on the *British* side, and left the Wall behind them, and consequently the expence had been

been unnecessary, and the *Romans* and *Britains* very idle in building it. To this it is answered, that I very justly supposed that the invasions were over the Firths; and though they had left the Wall behind them after their landing, yet the objection concludes not, that therefore the building of the Wall was unnecessary; for the *Britains* being separated and distinguished from the *Scots* and *Picts* by two Firths which did meet onely in a short neck of Land, they completed this natural fortification of Water, by building a Wall on the Land where it was wanting, thereby defending themselves against the irruptions of their Enemies; so that the *Scots* and *Picts* being debarred from entring by this Neck, which was the easie and ordinary way before, were after necessitated to invade by water, formerly the more difficult way. And this is not onely a conjecture arising from the clear probability of the thing (which were sufficient to answer the Doctor's Objection that is onely founded on a bare conjecture) but it's the expreis reason given by *Beda*, who lived so near the time and the place, and who speaking of this Wall, saith, *Fecerunt autem cum inter duo freta, vel sinus (de quibus dicimus) maris per millia passuum plurima, ut ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi praesidio valli fines suas ab hostium irruptione defenderent* — from which I must

Lib. 1. cap. 12.

must also add, that the Seas we came over, were our own Firths abovemention'd, and not the *Irish* Sea; for the Wall is said to be betwixt the two Firths and Bays of the Sea, and thereafter in the same Chapter it's said *fugavit eos transmaria*, which are also the words of *Gildas*: All which is apply'd to our Firths, and not applicable to the *Irish* Sea, which can neither be called Firth nor Bay in the singular number, nor *Maria* in the plural, it being called *Mare Hibernicum*, as our Seas are called *Mare Germanicum*, or *Deucaledonicum*. And that the *Irish* Sea was not passable, nor fit for such Anniversary Invasions in *Corroughs*, is (beside all I have said formerly) clear from the *English* Writers themselves, *Bartholomew Anglicus*, and the *English Polychronicon* in their descriptions of *Ireland*. But the Sea that is between *Britain* and *Ireland* is all the year round full of great waves, and uneasy, so that men can seldom sail it securely. This Sea is sixscore miles broad, and *Bartholomew Anglicus* says of it, — *Mare autem Hibernicum versus Britanniam undosum & inquietum est, & toto anno vix navigabile.*

*Polychr. lib. 1.
cap. 32.*

Lib. 15. cap. 80.

The Doctor, to evite the force of our Arguments, makes the *Caledonii* and *Meatae* to differ from the *Scots* and *Picts*, and to be *Britains* dwelling near the Wall; who being forced to attend there
for

for the defence of the Wall against the *Romans*, left the more Northern parts of the Isle waste, which they formerly inhabited, as the Blood doth the extremities, when it runs to the Heart : Whereupon the *Scots* invaded their Possessions from the West out of *Ireland*, and the *Picts* from *Scandnavia*. But besides the Arguments I urged formerly in my Second Chapter, I now add, that first, *Beda* makes onely mention of five Nations, who inhabited *Britain*, viz. the *Britains*, *Romans*, *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons*, whereas if the *Caledonii* and *Meata* had been different from the *Scots* and *Picts* (and not the Highlanders and Lowlanders of the *Scots* and *Picts* under different names ; as I have formerly proved them to be) then there had not onely been five, but seven Nations inhabiting *Britain*. Whereas the Doctor contends that *Dion* must interpret *Beda*'s words, it's more reasonable that *Beda*, who wrote long after *Dion*, should interpret his words ; since *Beda* is so express in describing who were Inhabitants of old, and in his time ; and *Dion*, who was before *Beda*, could not interpret him.

2. Either the *Scots* and *Picts* came into the Possessions of these *Caledonii* and *Meata* before the *Romans*, or after : if they came in before, then the *Scots* and *Picts* must have come and settled here before the Year 412. because the *Romans* left

left this Isle altogether about that time, without ever returning, and consequently were settled here before the Year 503. which is the Bishop of St. *Asaph's* Position : But if after the *Romans* left the Isle, then it was not when the *Caledonians* and *Masas* were necessitated to come for the defence of the Wall against the *Romans*, which is Doctor *Stillingfleet's* Position.

If the *Irish* had overcome the Extra-provincial *Britains*, whom, as the Doctor confesses, the *Romans* could not overcome, this Conquest must needs have fallen out near to those times wherein *Gildas* and *Beda* lived, and whereof they write the Wars and Vastations so particularly and exactly ; and especially since the Learned Doctor gives as a Rule, that a negative testimony is concluding, where the Writer is knowing, and had opportunity to know, and the thing omitted is of importance to the subject treated of ; all this quadrats exactly with this case : and though these Authours had omitted this Conquest, yet it is incredible that these Ancient *Irish* Annals (by the Doctor alone so much preferred to ours) would have omitted the full and clear relation of a Conquest so very glorious to them, as the overcoming Nations, who could never be conquered by the mighty power of the *Romans* ; especially since this must have been, not some particular Victories only,

only, but one intire extinction of the *Mæata* and *Caledonii*, for these are never after so much as mentioned : And it's yet more incredible to think that we could have overthrown these Extraprovincial *Britains*, after the *Romans* had been forced to leave the Island, and yet never be able to prevail so far against them, when they had the *Britains*, *Romans*, and Us to be their Enemies ; it being acknowledged that we were by continual incursions endeavouring to settle here about 200 years before the *Romans* left the Isle.

Whereas the Doctor cites *Fordon* distinguishing the *Picts* and *Scots* from the *Caledonii*, and *Mæata* ; and making them to be the Extraprovincial *Britains* in the 36th Chapter of the Third Book of his *Scoto-Chronicou*, I have considered the place cited, but I find no such thing in that Chapter. Indeed in the 37th Chapter of the Second Book I find *Fulgentius* is called *Dux Britannorum Albanensium*, and that the *Britanni Boreales*, are distinguished from the *Britanni Australes* ; but there is no mention made in that place of the *Caledonii* and *Mæata* ; nor does the division of South and North-*Britains* make any thing against us, but on the contrary, it seems very clear by that Chapter, that the *Scots* and *Picts* had been long settled in Scotland, before the *Romans* left this Isle ; for it's said there,
that

that the *Saxs* and *Picts* having (according to their accustomed manner) overrun the Country, notwithstanding the assistance given by the *Romans* to these *Britains*, *Fulgenius* was forced to make a peace with them.

Pag. 36. lin. 2. For *Fourth Chapter*, read *Fifth Chapter*. And here add, that by these words (*indeo cum Scottis Iernam moerit*) may be meant of our being forced to retreat or return to *Ireland*, when we were expelled by *Maximus*; which agrees with the time here described by *Claudian*.

Pag. 36. lin. 10. For *this*, read *thus*.

Pag. 38. lin. 16. The *Comma* is before, but should be after *Usher*. And for *do*, read *doth*.

Pag. 41. I desire the Reader may be pleased to observe, *First*, That *Osbertus* himself confesses, that the words (*soli Britanni*) in *Eumenius*, are understood to be in the Genitive, as *Scalger* and we contend; and not in the Nominative, as the Bishop and the Doctor alledge. And here I would have the Doctor to mind that true *Maxime* of Law cited by himself; a Witness which a man bringeth for himself ought to be admitted against him.

Secondly, That the Bishop of *St. Asaph* makes use of *Plantin's* Edition in the Catalogue prefixt by him, and in that Edition *Eumenius's* words are pointed as I have cited them. *Thirdly*,





Thirdly, I wish the Reader to observe that in my First Book against the Bishop of St. Asaph, Pag. 70. lin. 8. the particle & (in Eumenius his words, *Natio adhuc rudis & soli Britannii*) is printed (&) and so the force of the Argument is not understood, which was, that (&) copulas diverse, and so the *Natio rudis* could not be the same with *soli Britannii*, but must needs have been of the Genitive Case, and the words must have run, *Pictis & Hibernis soli Britannii*, the *Picts* and *Irish* of the British Isle.

Pag. 45. For *Britons*, reade *Britains*. And here add, that the words in *Tacitus* are *Nobilissimi totius Britanniae*, which does not at all prove *Galgacus* his men to have been *Britons*, but *Britains*; and so this agrees very well with the *Scots*, who were *Caledonian Britains*.

Pag. 41. lin. 19. For *Scotica prima*, reade *Scotica prima*.

Pag. 51. lin. 2. For *Fourth Chapter*, reade *Fifth Chapter*.

Pag. 57. lin. 17. Add, And that he was sent to the Scots in Britain is clear.

Pag. 60. lin. penult. For *Nomination*, reade *Omination*.

Pag. 65. lin. 3. For the *Conquered Nations*, reade *relates to the Unconquered Nations*.

Pag. 68. lin. 10. Put a *Comma* after the word *Marial*.

Pag. 72. lin. 5. In place of, a *Nation*
P before

before Constantius's time, say, a Nation
settled here before Constantius's time. *Ibid.*
lin. 22. add; That these words in Scal-
ger, & Scoti sunt adhuc in Hibernia, must
be so interpreted as to consist with Sea-
liger's former Arguments for proving
our early Settlement here, and therefore
the sense must be; That there are yet in
Ireland some of these Ancient Scots, or
That the Nation from which the Albanian
Scots are descended are yet in Ireland; nei-
ther of which contradicts our ancient
Settlement here.

Pag. 76. lin. penult. For these words,
Neither is Buxhornius special, and has been
misled by Usher; reade, And Buxhornius
has been misled by Ubbo Emmius, whom he
cites, and is later than Usher.

Pag. 77. lin. 8. For Spartan, reade
Spartian. *Ibid.* lin. 12. For all that,
reade that which.

Pag. 81. lin. 16. Add, That the Doc-
tor, Pref. p. 23. is very unjust in saying
that our Antiquities went not down with
John Major, and that he gave little ere-
dit to the being of Fergus the First; for
it's clear that he repeats onely the Story
of Gathelus, Scota, and Simon Brek, but
is very positive in asserting the Story of
Fergus the First, and shews particularly
that Beda did not contradict that part of
our History, but gives the true and re-
conciling distinction, that Fergus laid
the foundation of the Monarchy, and
Reuda

Reuda or *Rether* enlarg'd it; and reckons above 700 years betwixt the two *Ferguses*, and relates the Genealogy of *Alexander* the Third, as it was repeated by that Highland Gentleman at the Coronation.

Pag. 83. lin. 13. For these words, *he could have no warrant but Tradition*, read *He could have no sufficient warrant without Tradition*.

Pag. 94. lin. penult. Put out the word *Saint* from *Fergus*.

Pag. 97. lin. ult. Immediately after the word *Verimund*, add these words, *many material things which are not in Boethius*.

Pag. 98. lin. 11. Put out these words, *which are not in Boethius*.

Pag. 108. lin. 25. After *Alarick*, add the word *is*.

Pag. 116. lin. ult. When *Kenneth* is called the first Monarch of Scotland, The meaning is, *he was the first Monarch of all Scotland, having subdued the Picts, and therefore he is so termed by Fordon*.

Pag. 119. lin. 17. For, *it is likely*, read *is it likely*.

Pag. 121. For *de Muro lapides*, read *de Mora lapidea*. i. e. the stony Moor.

Pag. 129. lin. 16. For *Ferchard's* second Son, read *Ferchard* the Second his Son.

Pag. 167. lin. For *Tich*, read *Fich*.

Pag. 175. lin. 14. For *treated*, read *treated of*.

The Reader is intreated to excuse these mistakes in the printing, since they were occasion'd by the Author's great distance from the Press.

And if the Reader doubt of the old Alliance betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, the Articles of the old League shall be printed, for they have been lately found upon record in an old Register at *Paris*, and bear date 791. agreeing exactly with what I have said *page* 109. of my First Book; and with *page* 74. of this: and this proves us to have been a Nation settled long before, and of very considerable reputation abroad in the World: for how is it imaginable that *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, and Emperour of the *West*, should have thought it either his honour or interest to engage in so strict an alliance with a pack of Pilfering Vagabond Robbers, confin'd to the then very insignificant County of *Argyle*, as is most unjustly alledg'd against us.

T H E E N D.

The

The Reverend Dr. *Stillington* is
pleased to reflect upon the Authour's
Jus Regium, but that the Famous
University of *Oxford* had other
thoughts of that Book, the Reader
may understand by the following
Letter, which passed their Publick
Seal, and was sent, as it's here set
down, to the Authour.

P 3 Heno-

Honorabili plurimum Domino;

Domino Georgio M'henzie,

Equiti Aurato

Regio Regni Scotiae Advocato.

Illustrissime & Clarissime Domine,

CUM Regio Principum Jure & Majestate nihil sit sanctius, utpote quod iis inviolatis & Regni gloria & subditorum pax unice conservantur, facile possis credere, quam acceptissimos Academiae, quae Regi semper fida gloriatur perstitisse, honores contuleris, cum vestras Regiae causae vindicias nobis non tantum transmiseris, sed & in publicum simul, iniquo hoc tempore vocaris patrocinium. Si quae enim (post probatam bellis civilibus

civilibus fidem, ignibusque traditos impios libellos, de quibus originem & vires sumserat perduellio) ulterioris officii partes supererant, eas omnes vestro explevimus beneficio qui causam principis una videmur defendisse, quod Doctissimi laboris effeceris participes. Qui ipsa fundamenta penitus conuellens quibus, inimica semper Regibus, plebis improba inmititur causa, de ipsa seditione vel Bellica potioreni reportasti victoriam; cum enim armis miles rebelles cogat in tempus tantum gladio recondere, Tu, invictissima rationis viribus, imperas ne iterum fringantur. Languet quidem tantum quæ debellatur, non extinguitur seditio, devictumque licet humilis & abjecti vulgus imperii patiens videatur, vel minima

nimā elucente spe res novas
continuo molitur. Adeo ut Re-
gias partes verius sustentet qui
suadet quam qui cogit parere,
rebusque Imperii honestius consu-
lat, qui inconcussæ fidei divinam
statuens originem, Reverentiam
Principum non metum incutit,
Regibusque ex officio docet, non
re, vel tempore turpiter inter-
vire. Hinc fit ut quævis Sco-
torum virtuti plurimum de-
beatur, quod rebelles bis prosti-
gaverint, Tibi plus sit referen-
dum quod Buchanum & Milto-
num: quorum licet de scriptis
derivatum plurimæ Regni par-
tes venenam infecerit, In ta-
men grassante diu malo, tam fe-
lici tandem remedio subvenisti
ut conscientie, Rationi, legibus-
que Regni antiquissimis necesse
est renuncient si qui in posterum
sint

*sint qui in Deum Regemque una
Rebelles audeant iterum movere
arma. Quod itaque nostra ex par-
te Unicum possumus, inter libros
æternæ memoriæ sacros, Vestros
Academia reponet, honores Au-
tori exoptans quos ipsa nequit
conferre, soliusque possit Prin-
cipis Munificentia: Nimirum
ut penitus fractis per te Fana-
ticorum viribus, sentiat Rex
quantum possit vel Unius subditi
literata fides, & Ipse experiaris
quantum mereatur. Hæc eo, quo
mittimus animo accipias, & in-
ter affectûs indicia æstimes quo
Te prosequitur*

Illustrissime Domine

Nomini vestro addictissima,

*E Domo nostræ
Convocationis
V. Id. Junii,
MDCLXXXIV.*

Universitas Oxoniensis.

Books printed for, and sold by
Joseph Hindmarsh.

D*Avelas's History of the Civil Wars of France.*

Poems by several Hands, and on several Occasions, collected by N. Tate.

Miscellany; being a Collection of Poems by several Hands, collected by Mrs. A. Behn.

The Works of Mr. John Oldham, together with his Remains.

A Discourse of Monarchy; more particularly of the Imperial Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland, with a close from the whole as it relates to the Succession of J. Duke of York.

Practical Rules of Christian Piety, containing the sum of the whole duty of a true Disciple of Christ.

History of Count Zozimus translated into English.

The

The Doctour's Physician, or Dialogues concerning Health, translated out of the Original French.

Butler's Ghost; or *Hudibras* 4th Part, with Reflexions on these Times.

Jenkinsus Redivivus; or the Works of that Grave, Learned, truly Loyal and Courageous Judge *Jenkins* whilst a Prisoner in the Tower, and Newgate, by command of the Rebellious Long Parliament, begun at *Westminster*, November the 3d, 1640. Wherein is plainly set forth the just Power and Prerogative of the King, the Privilege of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and what is Treason according to the Laws of the Land.

The Familiar Epistles of Collonel *Henry Martin* found in his Misses Cabinet.

A true Account of the Captivity of *Thomas Phelps* at *Machaness*, in *Barbary*, and of his strange Escape in company of *Edmund Baxter* and others, as also of the burning two of the greatest Pirat Ships belonging to that Kingdom, in the River of
Mamora,

Memora, upon the 13th of June;
1685. By *Thomas Phelps*.

The Perjur'd Phanatick; or the
Malitious Conspiracy of *Sir John*
Croke of Chilton, Henry Larimore, and
other Fanaticks, against the life of
Robert Hawkins, Clerk, and late Mi-
nister of *Chilton*, occasioned by his
suit for Tythes.

An Historical Treatise of the Pre-
rogatives of the Church of *Rome*,
and of her Bishops; written in French
by *Mounſier Maimburg*, translated
into English by *A. Levell*.

